

IC SAFETY PROGRAM

IGHT. Mr. President, I of-
ment which I send to the
that it be stated.

SIDING OFFICER. The
ill be stated.

ive clerk read as follows:
between lines 8 and 9, insert

of the funds appropriated or
pursuant to this Act to carry
the Foreign Assistance Act
used for continuing public
s of the Agency for Interna-
ment.

IGHT. Mr. President, on
nt, I ask for the yeas and

nd nays were ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I
yield myself 10 minutes.

In its illustrative 1972 budget, the
Agency for International Development
requested \$29,423,000 for carrying out
public safety programs in more than 25
countries of the world. Of that \$5,455,000
was to be from technical assistance, \$20,-
573,000 from supporting assistance, and
\$3,400,000 from supporting assistance
loans.

The proposed program and the detail
of its financing are set forth in the table
which I ask unanimous consent to have
printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was
ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as
follows:

Countries and regions	Supporting assistance	Technical assistance	Supporting assistance loans	Countries and regions	Supporting assistance	Technical assistance	Supporting assistance loans
Southeast Asia:				Costa Rica		\$198,000	
South Vietnam	\$11,148,000			Dominican Republic		370,000	
Laos	425,000			Ecuador		135,000	
Thailand	9,000,000			El Salvador		56,000	
Philippines		\$800,000		Guatemala		377,000	
Africa:				Guyana		99,000	
Regional	100,000			Honduras		171,000	
Congo (Kinshasa)		1,016,000		Jamaica		96,000	
Ghana		106,000		Nicaragua		91,000	
Liberia		203,000		Panama		203,000	
Nigeria			\$3,400,000	Uruguay		225,000	
Tunisia		125,000		Venezuela		200,000	
Near East and South Asia: Pakistan		250,000		Total	\$20,573,000	5,450,000	\$3,400,000
Latin America:				Grand total			29,423,000
Bolivia		115,000					
Brazil		174,000					
Colombia		340,000					

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, over
the years, I have come to realize that
U.S. participation in the highly sen-
sitive area of public safety and police
training unavoidably opens the door to
those who seek to identify the United
States with every act of local police
brutality or oppression in any country
in which this program operates. It mat-
ters little whether the charges can be
substantiated; they are made almost
daily; they are widely circulated; they
obtain credibility in some quarters; and
they inevitably stigmatize the total
U.S. aid effort.

I believe that in undeveloped areas of
the world, the costs of public safety pro-
grams are better left to be under-
written from local resources and the U.S.
assistance effort directed toward less
sensitive and better justified areas
of concern. As a move in this direction,
my amendment would eliminate all pub-
lic safety programs funded from techni-
cal assistance grants and development
loans. This action would not, however,
bar public safety programs in Southeast
Asia, for which \$20,573,000 in support-
ing assistance funds is requested, and
concerning which I will not comment at
this time.

That program has been widely pub-
licized in a different connection.

While I question the need for continu-
ing this highly controversial program,
the Agency for International Develop-
ment has testified in strong support of
these activities which involve the opera-
tion of the International Policy Academy
and the stationing of 335 public safety
advisers abroad. Having achieved the

limited objectives for which they were
established, public safety programs in 23
countries have been terminated since
1962.

Public safety programs in Chile and
Jordan were terminated in fiscal year
1971 and ongoing programs in Brazil and
Korea will be concluded by the end of
fiscal 1972. In trying to justify this pro-
gram's continuance, an AID official has
made the following observation which
should be considered in passing judg-
ment on the program:

Violence has been a common factor in
many of the world's societies and one which
frustrates the effort of the people to realize
their aspirations and also of governments
in attempting to govern. Violence has been
chosen by special interest groups, political
factions and elements at both extremes of
the political spectrum. Based on the recent
experience of the 1960s, it is clear that dur-
ing the decade of the '70s the task of govern-
ments in these societies will be much more
important during this period. This im-
portance lies not only in the civil security
forces' ability to protect the lives, property
and basic human rights of the citizens, but
in their ability to create a climate for orderly
change. Violence perpetrated by any group
in society should be prevented and sup-
pressed.

In several countries, which have requested
and are receiving Public Safety assistance,
there are reports and allegations that some
members of the police forces engage in illegal
activity in the conduct of their business. We
do not condone and do deplore this kind of
behavior which is antithetical to the objec-
tives of the Public Safety program and to
the modern concept of law enforcement
which the program attempts to inculcate at
all levels in police forces it aids. The best
chance for overcoming this lack of profes-

sionalism is the conduct of police operations
is through technical assistance and training
provided by the Public Safety program.

U.S. Public Safety assistance is a low cost,
low profile activity. Given adequate resources,
it can be effective in influencing police lead-
ership toward the professional and humane
use of their resources and it can assist in the
development of police abilities to prevent
serious threats to internal order.

Unfortunately, there is a difference
between can and is. I question the effec-
tiveness of these programs in light of
the adverse effects that result from our
being so closely associated with local
police brutality and consider further in-
volvement in these programs to be
against the best interests of the United
States.

We have troubles enough with police/
community relations in our own society.
I suggest that our Government's efforts
would be better directed to this, and our
own crime problem, rather than to try-
ing to teach foreigners how to run their
police departments.

Mr. President, the overall effect of this,
together with other aspects of our pro-
gram, is to identify this Nation with the
preservation of the status quo in all
respects in all the developing countries,
in which there are many people who be-
lieve that some changes in their economic
or political systems are warranted. The
United States is identified in nearly every
respect with the preservation of the
status quo in any effort to improve the
lot of the people in those countries.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will
the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. This amendment was brought to the attention of the full committee, and we agreed that, because it was controversial with many people, it should be brought up on the floor rather than put in by the committee.

I think it is necessary for us to stop our aid in public safety programs because, as the Senator from Arkansas has said, not only do they become clearly identified with suppression of human rights, but also with the most reactionary and military regimes.

It is true, as the Senator from Arkansas said, that they may serve a useful purpose, but what the Senator from Arkansas would do in his amendment would be to provide that public safety programs and the police forces of those countries be run with local tax funds in accordance with the way the local governments want to set priorities.

I know what resistance there would be in this country to having a Federal police force. People would resist such a move. I know some people say the FBI is that. I do not think so. I have great respect for the FBI. I think it has done a marvelous job. But if we had a Federal police force supported with Federal funds, we would be concerned with all the effects that would have on the civil liberties of the people of our country.

What we are saying is that U.S. AID funds should be used to help countries without becoming involved with their police forces. These have violated human rights time and time again in the most brutal and tragic ways—Brazil is the most conspicuous example. There is no reason why the United States should unnecessarily be identified as the country which is supplying the police force to maintain order.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I support the Senator's amendment.

Once again, I ask the Senator from Hawaii if he will control the time in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I appreciate the support of the Senator.

Mr. PONG. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need.

I rise in opposition to the amendment. The main thrust of these funds, under the public safety programs, is to have an efficient civil security force in the countries that are just developing. Many of these countries do not have an efficient police force and they need to have trained men to stop the inception of riots and the inception of other criminal activities.

Since 1954 the United States has provided assistance to police organizations around the world through the foreign economic assistance program. We must remember that we have only 4 or 5 more months left of fiscal year 1972 and that we have been operating on a continuing resolution to take care of the programs which are now in existence.

The primary thrust of this program has been to develop the institutional capability of civil security forces to maintain peace and order so that economic and social development can proceed and the affairs of government can be conducted within a constitutional framework.

By providing this assistance, civil police capabilities have been improved, thus permitting recipient governments to cope with internal disorders in their earliest phases rather than having to use military force when such disorders reach an unmanageable level.

Some police actions have been described as brutal. Many police forces in our own country, likewise, have been accused of police brutality. But the main thrust of this program is to see that the recipient countries have efficient police forces so they can nip insipient disorders in the bud, so they do not have to resort to military force later.

This program has been working very well, and it has been phasing out. During this same period the program level for assistance to 30 countries outside Southeast Asia has been reduced from \$7.98 million in 1967 to \$5.45 million in fiscal 1972.

Mr. President, we are talking about a very insignificant sum of money—\$5.45 million to 23 countries.

Which countries and what amounts are we talking about? For example, for the Congo, \$1 million; for Ghana, \$106,000; for Liberia, \$203,000; for Tunisia, \$125,000.

Certainly these countries need to upgrade their police forces.

Likewise, we are appropriating for Jordan, \$65,000. For Pakistan, \$280,000. For Bolivia, \$115,000. For Brazil, \$174,000.

So it can be seen that the amounts appropriated for these countries are modest.

To abruptly terminate all assistance to countries other than those in Southeast Asia at this time would be very unwise and could waste a large part of the limited investment already made in those countries.

The expenditure of this amount of money is for equipment, for training, for bringing their people over to take a look at our police forces so they may learn from us, and for sending our technical advisers to these countries. So Senators can see that most of the money appropriated under this program is for expenditures for our technicians, and for foreigners to come to our country to learn what is happening here.

This is particularly true in terms of the major effort now being mounted to attack the worldwide problem of international narcotics control. AID's public safety program will play a key role in the total U.S. Government effort. It is imperative that civil police institutions be strengthened in order that individual country narcotic control laws can be enforced effectively. Specific plans for assistance to various countries are now being formed in coordination with the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the Bureau of Customs. Fourteen of these countries are now receiving some type of public safety assistance through AID.

Latin American is also rapidly becoming a major conduit for international narcotics traffic into the United States. Six countries, all in Central America and the Caribbean area and which are now receiving public safety assistance, may also require assistance in narcotics control.

In addition, the Congress has now enacted legislation—section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act—which authorizes the President to conclude drug control agreements with other countries and to furnish assistance to any country or international organization for drug control purposes.

Mr. President, the significant impact of this restriction would be to force the closing of eight international police academies, where nearly 90 percent of the students expected during fiscal 1972 will come from 23 countries. It will result in the abandonment of public safety efforts to work with any but three countries in Indochina. Such assistance must be authorized in the Foreign Assistance Act and appropriated in part I of the Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Act. Therefore, any effort to eliminate public safety activities outside Southeast Asia is contrary to a congressional view expressed so recently.

Opportunities for preventing further spread of international narcotics traffic and growth of related law enforcement problems cannot be disregarded. Although the United States cannot enforce the narcotics laws of another nation we do have a responsibility to assist in an area of national urgency through training and improved organization under the public safety program.

Mr. President, I think we would be doing a very sad thing if we were to disallow the use of this money for public safety programs. It would be most tragic because the main thrust of this program is to really give to the developing countries a good civil police security force in order to hold down the trafficking in narcotics, to nip subversive elements in the bud, and to protect constitutionally developed and elected governments.

So I oppose the amendment very vigorously, Mr. President.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, from year to year I have been a very strong supporter of our foreign aid program. I have done so because I have always believed that the effort was made in the spirit of brotherhood, and not in a self-seeking way to promote the prestige or enlarge the image of America throughout the world. We have spent billions of dollars in order to accomplish that.

But I dare say the program that we are talking about now, that has been outlined by the Senator from Hawaii, has been counterproductive. We are talking about a civil police force—First of all, this is a national concern. It is a matter of the sovereignty of the particular nation involved. Those people should furnish their own police forces. They should train their own policemen.

No one is advocating here that they do away with their policemen. All we are saying is, it is not the business of the United States of America to create a police force in any nation to guarantee the tenure of any specific dictator or any particular government. Frankly, in many instances, as the Senator from Arkansas has pointed out, we have been identified

as being against a sound reform movement that might be salutary in that particular country.

We have said time and time again that America should not be the policeman of the world, and yet we are policemen by proxy here. I do not see why the United States of America should maintain an international police school. For what purpose? The first thing any nation does to protect its own security is to build up a good, formidable police force. To say that if we withhold this aid these police forces will go out of existence is something I just cannot believe at all. I say very frankly I think this is one part of the foreign aid bill that does irreparable harm to the foreign aid program as a whole.

We have seen instances time and time again where these civil police forces, as they are called here, have really become stormtroopers. We have had our experience with Hitler, who, piecemeal, wanted to suppress this and suppress that. Finally he wound up as a dictator and brought us into World War II.

I say if we are going to cut this foreign aid bill at all, this is the one best place to cut it, and I shall vote for the cut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

As I have stated, the amounts of money here are used for the purpose of securing equipment, of sending advisers overseas to teach police work, and to have the students of recipient countries come over and learn some of our police techniques. We are not trying to set up police states in these countries. We are just teaching them advanced methods of civil security and public safety, and that is all we are doing for them.

This work is being phased out. We have operated under the continuing resolution now for approximately 7 months, and we have only 5 months to go. The program outside of Southeast Asia involves around \$5 million. It is being phased out, and this is no time for us to cut it.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FONG. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator uses the expression that this is for "civil security protection" reasons. What do we mean by that? It certainly is not protection against an invader. It is an internal affair.

Mr. FONG. It is an internal affair.

Mr. PASTORE. Is it our business to get mixed up in it?

Mr. FONG. Many of our programs involve internal affairs. We have gotten into the matter of helping people who are starving and who are sick—

Mr. PASTORE. Oh, but that is a different matter. We want to put food in empty stomachs. I just voted against the Fulbright amendment that would affect the award of money to feed the starving people in Bangladesh. But there is no analogy between food and police.

Mr. FONG. We have sent our advisers over there, and we have brought their people over here, to study educational

methods. This is nothing but a question of education.

Mr. PASTORE. That is not the way I have heard it. I have been with this program for a long time, and this is one element of the program with which I have become very weary. I think it is wrong to support this type of program. All that these security guards have been able to do is protect the bastion of authority in their particular State. Any time anyone speaks out against that authority, he goes to jail, sometimes without trial, and America is being blamed for it in many instances.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, as I recall the days and the hours and hours spent in the Foreign Relations Committee—

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COOPER. During all the time we put in on this measure in the Foreign Relations Committee, to the best of my recollection this subject was not mentioned. I may be in error, but I do not recall it.

I know that this has been referred to as a program which might prevent police brutality. I would like to say it is purely an educational program, in the same way that the FBI trains people, and in the same way as this Congress has appropriated money to assist in training local police. There is evidence of police brutality all over the world, and I am sure it exists in this country. But I think that countries which have systems such as ours, and the more advanced countries in Europe, would be more likely to educate and train these people in ways which would prevent police brutality. I think that is correct.

Also, we are engaged now in a great program throughout the world to try to bring narcotics and drug traffic under control, and this will be one element of the training which will be undertaken. I think many subjects have been discussed here which might be of much more importance, but this is important.

I do not go on the assumption that all our police are brutal. I would think it would be better to train these forces in the use of more humane methods. It is basically an educational program.

I hope the amendment will be defeated.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 5 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. President, I agree with the sentiments of the Senator from Rhode Island. It reminded me of a rather symbolic experience.

I think one of our first involvements in South Vietnam was a thorough public safety project in which we employed Michigan State University. I believe it is the same university of which the present Administrator of AID was president.

We were engaged in teaching them police organization. Mr. Fishel of that school became very friendly with Mr. Diem.

One thing led to another. Diem spent time in the Maryknoll Seminary in New York State and became acquainted with some important figures in this country. He went back and we helped make him president and gave him a police force, and we are still there protecting his people.

It is rather interesting that out of this kind of program grew that very long and intimate connection with South Vietnam.

It is a very important program. It involves us in the internal affairs of many countries. But, for the life of me, I do not understand why the Senator from Hawaii feels that we should become involved in the creation of the local police forces of these countries. I think it now involves 25 countries. It is no small matter.

We already train army officers in more countries than that. We become identified with their police forces and whatever people think of their police forces. We know in this country how popular police forces are. I support our police forces. But we know that in many parts of this country the police are very controversial. I think it is most unfortunate, but that happens to be human nature. We also have become identified with foreign army officers. We bring thousands—and we have brought tens of thousands—of army officers to this country, to train them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield myself 1 additional minute. We bring them here to teach them our most modern methods of how to stifle any kind of disorder of insurrection. That, in its proper context, is an essential part of an organized society.

I agree with and I underscore what the Senator from Rhode Island has said. Essential as these activities are to organized society, they are essentially local, and a big country like ours should not inject itself into those activities. We are being accused by our enemies all over the world of being of an imperialistic nature, seeking new and more subtle ways than, say, the British to control every part of the world we can by investments, by training of their military people, by training of their policemen, and other means.

So I think it is against our interests to keep this program in operation. It is not just a matter of money or saving money. It is against our interest.

I want to correct a misapprehension that I think was implicit in a comment just made, that my amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois reduced the amount for the suffering or starving, or what have you, of people. My amendment did not reduce the amount. It only provided that the amount provided should come out of the overall amount in the bill. There was flexibility for the administration to take that amount from other less important activities. I did not want the record to show that I reduced the amount.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. It is a question of how one construes the flexibility. My belief was that it might have to be taken out of a more essential program, and I considered it a limitation in that respect. But I do not pretend for one moment that my heart is any bigger than that of the Senator from Arkansas. I hope he understands that.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thank the Senator.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FONG. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGOVERN), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. MCINTYRE), the Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE) and the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) are on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER) is paired with the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON).

If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea" and the Senator from Washington would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH) is paired with the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON).

If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from Washington would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGOVERN) would vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Idaho

(Mr. JORDAN), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. SAXBE), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER), and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD) is paired with the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER). If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea" and the Senator from Texas would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 34, as follows:

[No. 34 Leg.]

YEAS—37

Allen
Anderson
Bayh
Bentsen
Bible
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Chiles
Cotton
Eagleton
Ervin

Fulbright
Harris
Hollings
Humphrey
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy
Mansfield
Metcalf
Mondale
Montoya
Nelson
Pastore

Pell
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Spong
Stennis
Stevenson
Symington
Talmadge
Tunney
Weicker
Williams

NAYS—34

Alken
Beall
Bennett
Boggs
Brock
Buckley
Case
Cook
Cooper
Curtis
Dole
Dominick

Eastland
Fannin
Fong
Goldwater
Griffin
Gurney
Hansen
Hart
Long
Mathias
Miller
Packwood

Pearson
Percy
Roth
Schweiker
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond

NOT VOTING—29

Allott
Baker
Bellmon
Cannon
Church
Cranston
Ellender
Gambrell
Gravel
Hartke

Hatfield
Hruska
Hughes
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Magnuson
McClellan
McGee
McGovern

McIntyre
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Randolph
Saxbe
Taft
Tower
Young

So Mr. FULBRIGHT's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its leading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2097) to establish a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention and to concentrate the resources of the Nation against the problem of drug abuse, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS, 1972

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12067) making appropriations for foreign assistance and related programs for the fiscal year

ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WEICKER). The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT) proposes an amendment:

On page 2, line 6, strike out "\$165,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$140,000,000".

On page 4, lines 11 and 12, strike out "\$150,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$100,000,000".

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—TIME LIMITATION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time on the pending amendment be limited to 20 minutes, the time to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendment and the ranking minority member.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, although the bill reported by the Appropriations Committee is a far better bill than that passed by the House, it did not reduce the total enough. And now even the committee's modest cuts have been partially offset by the Senate's vote to add \$100 million for the Alliance for Progress.

I offer an amendment to reduce the amount for worldwide development loans by \$50 million, from \$150 to \$100 million, and that for worldwide technical assistance by \$25 million, from \$165 to \$140 million.

My amendment would reduce the total in this bill for the regular foreign aid and military sales items, titles I and II, from \$2.339 billion to \$2.264 billion. This is still \$375 million more than Congress appropriated for these same programs in the 1970 fiscal year. I remind my colleagues that in fiscal year 1970 we had a budget deficit of only \$13 billion. The official estimate for the administrative budget deficit this fiscal year is \$45 billion, and, judging from past experience, likely to go much higher. My amendment will reduce that massive deficit by \$75 million.

The new money appropriated by this bill is, by no means, all that will be available for development lending and technical assistance. Repayments on past loans, carryovers and funds from other sources which will be available for new loans under terms of this bill total \$281 million, which, when added to the \$100 million in new money allowed under my amendment, will make a total of \$381 million for loans outside of Latin America. There will also be \$15 million more

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed foreign aid appropriations bill.
See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 1167-S 1203

Bills Introduced: Eight bills and three resolutions were introduced as follows: S. 3123-3130; S.J. Res. 196; and S. Con. Res. 57 and 58. *Pages S 1175, S 1178-S 1180*

Bill Reported: Report was made as follows:

H.R. 7987, to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the Bicentennial of American Independence (S. Rept. 92-603). *Page S 1174*

Measures Passed:

Appropriations—foreign aid: By 45 yeas to 23 nays, Senate passed H.R. 12067, making appropriations for foreign aid programs for fiscal year 1972, after taking action on additional proposed amendments thereto as follows:

Adopted:

(1) Modified Stevenson amendment increasing from \$175 million to \$250 million funds for relief in Pakistan, with proviso that funds shall not be available for obligation in excess of 40 percent of all contributions for such purpose from any source; and

(2) By 37 yeas to 34 nays, Fulbright amendment barring the use of funds for continuing public safety programs of the Agency for International Development; and

Rejected:

(1) By 24 yeas to 45 nays, Fulbright amendment (to Stevenson amendment No. 865), to provide that moneys for Pakistan relief be taken from other programs under title I of the bill; and

(2) By 29 yeas to 41 nays, Fulbright amendment decreasing from \$165 million to \$140 million funds for worldwide technical assistance, and from \$150 million to \$100 million funds for development loans.

Senate insisted on its amendments, requested conference with the House, and appointed as conferees Senators Proxmire, McGee, Ellender, McClellan, Magnuson, Fong, Brooke, and Young.

Pages S 1203-S 1204, S 1207-S 1222

Joint Economic Committee report: Senate took from the desk and passed S.J. Res. 196, extending from

March 10 until March 28, 1972, the date the Joint Economic Committee may file its report on the President's economic report. *Page S 1222*

Bill Indefinitely Postponed: Senate indefinitely postponed further action on S. Con. Res. 21, calling for suspension of military assistance to Pakistan. *Page S 1167*

Equal Employment Opportunity: Senate resumed consideration of S. 2515, to further promote equal employment opportunities for American workers, pending amendment to which is Ervin amendment No. 813, to provide that coverage of title VII include employers of 25 or more persons, and labor organizations with 25 or more members, instead of eight persons or members, as called for in the bill. *Page S 1223*

President's Message—American Bicentennial: Senate received a message from the President transmitting outline of proposed plan for Federal partnership in the District of Columbia's bicentennial observance—referred to Committee on the District of Columbia. *Pages S 1204-S 1207*

Nominations—Unanimous-Consent Agreement: By unanimous consent, it was agreed that when the Senate proceeds to the consideration (probably on Monday, February 7) of the nominations of John Eugene Sheehan, of Kentucky, to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; George H. Boldt, of Washington, to be Chairman of the Pay Board; and C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., of Texas, to be Chairman of the Price Commission, debate on each will be limited to 1 hour. *Pages S 1225-S 1226*

Nominations: Senate received the following nominations to be members of the General Advisory Committee on the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: Robert Ellsworth, of Maryland; John A. McCone, of California; Earle Gilmore Wheeler, of West Virginia; and David Packard, of California. *Page S 1226*

Record Votes: Four record votes were taken today.

Pages S 1212, S 1216, S 1217, S 1222

boss of Croatia from the end of the war until he was summoned to Belgrade in 1969, categorically told two West European journalists in December that such rumors, and especially those alleging army pressure, were false and "a lie spread by Croatian nationalists."

CHALLENGE TO PROCESS

Tito acted, Bakaric contended, when he became convinced that nationalist forces in Croatia were attempting to turn to their own political purposes the process, which Tito himself had begun, of building genuine national equality among Yugoslavia's jealously competing ethnic groups.

Croatian politicians who opposed the nationalist course of the now ousted leaders were about to act on their own when Tito moved, Bakaric said in another interview.

Bakaric, who was the leader of this pro-Yugoslav or "unitarist" opposition within Croatia, was threatened with political extinction on the eve of the purge.

Revelations in recent weeks about such pre-purge infighting at the top of the Croatian party have exposed a far more complex political situation than most interpretations, in Yugoslavia or abroad, have recognized.

While roles and motives involved in the drama of the past weeks remain obscure, the picture of what was happening before the purge is becoming clear.

YOUNGER LEADERS

A group of younger, "progressive" Communist leaders came to power in Croatia in the late 1960s, as Bakaric's proteges, on a platform of decentralization, democratization and economic liberalism.

Such a platform was seen and welcomed as consistent with Croatia's long-term aspirations for a fairer deal in a Yugoslav federation in which Croats had, with some justice, felt exploited and oppressed by a centralized system in which their more numerous but poorer ethnic rivals, the Serbs, enjoyed preponderant influence.

In office and in alliance with like-minded comrades in other region, the new Croatian leadership therefore continued the battle against the power of centralist and authoritarian party bureaucracies and financial monopolies in Belgrade, which is not only the federal capital but also the capital of Serbia.

In seeking wider support in this political struggle for decentralized power, the Croatian new guard began to play with Croatian national sentiment, historically the easiest and surest way of arousing mass enthusiasm while also frightening one's negotiating partners with the implicit threat that nationalist forces may get out of hand if one's demands are not met.

DEMANDS ESCALATE

More extreme Croatian nationalists, in and outside the party, appeared with escalating demands.

Their activities centered around the Matica Hrvatska, which became again the aggressive defender of Croatian national interests

that it had been in the late years of the Habsburg Monarchy. To many, the Matica began to look increasingly like the nucleus of a new, nationalist political party outside Communist control and a challenge to it.

This development, combined with the "progressive" party leadership's toleration of nationalist "excesses" (which frightened non-Croatian minorities in multinational Croatia), and increasingly rigid negotiating positions in disputes with the federal center, frightened Croatia's allies in other regions.

The consequent isolation of the Croatian leadership forced it into greater dependence on mass popularity inside Croatia—a popularity based on nationalism.

The process was exaggerated further by splits within the Croatian leadership.

Bakaric and some members of the progressive new leadership, such as Josip Vrhovec and Jure Bilic, argued that the opening to the masses was proving an opening to chauvinism and separatism. They were accused of pro-Serbian "unitarism" and anti-democratic conservatism.

In fighting this internal Croatian battle, it is now said, the leaders whose platform had been liberal nationalist communism became more nationalist and less liberal, using every means to eliminate their "unitarist" opponents from political life and creating an atmosphere now described by many in the Croatian party as "intellectual terror."

It was this situation, in which it seemed to men in power everywhere except in Zagreb that the Croatian nationalist tail was wagging the Croatian Communist dog and moving in the direction of separatism or facism, that led to the crisis.

WELL-ORGANIZED STRIKE

The crisis was precipitated when students at Zagreb University, under partly non-Communist and strongly pro-nationalist leadership, went on a well-organized strike at the end of November and then refused to listen to the pleas of the belatedly alarmed party leadership that they go back to class.

The student revolt against party leaders who had claimed that nationalism was not dangerous and could be harnessed persuaded Tito that the party in Croatia had lost control of the situation and that those who were responsible must go.

But as the charges of "separatism" and "counterrevolution" grew and the purge continued, Yugoslavs here in the Croatian capital as well as in Belgrade have begun asking three basic questions:

1. Is it true, as the official line now maintains, that the situation in Croatia had become so threatening to the unity of the country, to peace among its nationalities (President Tito and others have spoken of the risk of a Serb-Croat civil war), or to Titoist socialism that drastic action was unavoidable?

2. Even if the answer is yes, are the actions now being taken the most appropriate ones? Or by including charges of "counter-revolution," do they contain what one observer

called a dangerous dose of "ideological overkill" that will lead to an excessively widespread purge with criminal trials inevitable? And will this generate even more genuine separatists—prepared, perhaps, to support terrorism—among a disbelieving and embittered Croatian nation?

3. Will a widespread use of purge and police, backed by Tito's repeated demands for a strengthened Communist party, more central control and an end of "democracy for the enemies of our socialist democracy," carry Yugoslavia back toward the centralized party dictatorship of a few years ago?

The official line is that the Croatian leadership now being purged either deliberately or stupidly had permitted Croatian nationalists to organize a dangerously powerful separatist and anti-social movement, and that the nationalists' political methods were undemocratic and even Stalinist.

Thus desperate and even "undemocratic" measures were required. Nothing less than the current massive "cleansing" would have done the job.

At the other extreme are those who feel that the ousted but still popular Croatian leaders were merely trying to create the genuine, mass-supported socialist democracy that is Titoism's proclaimed goal.

Their flirtation with nationalism, it is argued, was not only a harmless positive contribution to mass popularity for the party and socialism, but also the best way to cut the ground from under the real nationalists and separatists who would appear and compete for popularity in a genuinely democratized atmosphere.

Another view, more widespread in Zagreb than many Serbs are prepared to believe, holds that the answer to the first basic question is regrettably yes, but the answer to the second is that the remedy now being applied is almost as deadly as the disease it is meant to cure.

Some people find particular alarming President Tito's statement, in his strongest post-purge speech, that the rot had started with the 1952 Congress of the Yugoslav Communist party, and that he personally had never liked that Congress.

For the "progressive" Communists who have dominated the party established since 1966 to call in question the 1952 Congress is to call in question most of the things that distinguish Yugoslav from Soviet communism.

So far, there are at most only margin signs, like the recent flurry of arrests in Zagreb and elsewhere and pressures against "liberal" Communist leaders in the Serb, Macedonian and Slovene parties, that kind of alarm is justified.

It is discounted by those who are convinced—perhaps a little anxiously—that political and economic forces with a vested interest in the level of pluralism and decentralization already achieved are now too numerous and too powerful for the clock to be turned back more than an hour or two, even by Tito.

to know the President's rationale for continuing or cutting off aid to a country, and also to facilitate an independent appraisal of the President's actions by Congress.

My amendment would also require the President to report any action taken pursuant to paragraph (3) of subsection 620 (v). That provision allows the President to continue or resume aid to countries which either first, take appropriate measures to halt drug trafficking after an earlier determination by the President that such measures have not been taken by such countries, or second, require assistance from the United States because of "overriding national interest," even though appropriate steps to combat drug trafficking have not been taken.

In my opinion the overriding national interest must be grave indeed to excuse a country from taking steps to eliminate drug traffic to the United States or its citizens, and I would expect the fullest justification for any presidential determination to continue aid which is based on overriding national interest.

Except for the absence of a Presidential reporting requirement, I am, I repeat, pleased with the international drug control provisions included in H.R. 9910 by the Committee on Foreign Relations. I hope that the chairman and members of that committee support this amendment, and that the Senate accept it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I have discussed this matter with the Senator from West Virginia. The substantive provision relating to drug traffic, as he rightly says, is in the bill. As far as I know, it is non-controversial and no one is against it. I think he is thoughtful and wise in providing that the President report to the Congress. I certainly would accept the amendment. I think the President certainly would have no objection, and probably would welcome this opportunity to report to Congress.

I accept the amendment.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am grateful to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, New York is having probably the biggest problem in the country in this area—not only that, but drug traffic is probably the greatest problem New York has ever had—I am very anxious to work at this end to try to damp the flow. There are three elements to damping the flow: First, the illegality of the crime in pushing and wholesaling drugs; second, rehabilitating drug addicts and trying to eliminate the problem; and third, keeping the addict from engaging in crime.

I am glad the chairman of the committee has accepted the amendment. I think the Senator has rendered us all a service in keeping the administration's feet to the fire in a proposition as critical as this one.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I appreciate the comments of the Senator from New York. I know he has given much attention to the problem and has intense interest in stopping the illegal traffic in drugs.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I understood the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) to say he expected the Senator from Missouri to proceed. Or am I in error about that?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Go ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, my perfecting amendment, as printed and as it appears in the Record, contains a printing error which I would correct at this time.

The amount to be inserted in lieu of \$250 million in lines 14 and 20 of page 44 should be \$341 million in each instance.

I send a corrected copy of the amendment to the desk, and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment, as modified, will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 44, line 14, strike out "\$250,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$341,000,000".

On page 44, line 20, strike out "\$250,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$341,000,000".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that there are 9 minutes remaining to each side on this amendment. Who yields time?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my perfecting amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. How much time remains on the perfecting amendment of the Senator from Missouri?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Nine minutes on each side. Who yields time?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GRIFFIN. To whom is the time allotted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Arkansas. Who yields time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Time is running on both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If no one yields time, time will run against both sides.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes for the purpose of an inquiry. The Senator from Missouri is now offering a perfecting amendment to increase the amount of the ceiling for money to Cambodia from \$250 million to what figure?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The sum of \$341 million is the amount requested by the administration.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct. I have already stated that I think this is

much too much money, and there is no point in my reiterating it.

It was my understanding—and the only excuse I can offer why the Senator from Alaska is not here is that there has been a change of signals—that the Allott-Church amendment was coming up. Now the Senator from Alaska wishes to present a substitute, I believe, or an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, and I understand it would be in order. He wishes, I believe, to strike it out—to strike out aid to Cambodia. I believe it has been at the desk. I think he ought to have an opportunity to present it, but there is a change of signals here at the last minute. I did not know it was going to come up just now, because I thought the Church-Allott amendment would be next in line.

But I wonder if the Senator from Missouri would be willing, if he has any further remarks to make, to make those remarks now. If not, I am perfectly willing, after a reasonable opportunity to reach the Senator from Alaska, to proceed to a vote.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the able Senator.

Mr. AIKEN. I support the move of the Senator from Missouri for increasing the available amount for Cambodia, because I feel that we have a very great responsibility for the pathetic condition of that country today. And while I would not want to see this money spent for raising an army and putting men to war against their neighbors, I feel that if this amount of \$341 million is agreed to at this time, it undoubtedly will not survive the conference at that full amount, though it might, but I doubt in any case if it would survive in the Appropriations Committee; so we are not spending this \$341 million, we are simply making it available to repair much of the damage which we have in part caused over there.

Mr. SYMINGTON. May I say to the Senator from Vermont that the reason for my amendment has much to do with the McGee amendment which yesterday was defeated. The McGee amendment would have taken away any ceiling on the amount of money that was being requested by the administration for use in Cambodia. My amendment agrees with all the money that was requested by the administration, but says that before they spend additional money, they should come to Congress for authorization. That is the amendment that we are discussing now.

Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, first will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Mississippi on my time.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, this is largely a matter of legislative history, and I wish to ask the Senator some questions after I make a very brief statement.

This pertains, now, to the money that can be spent in Cambodia. When we had the procurement bill up, we had a similar amendment with reference to how much could be spent in Laos. We excepted the bombing in both areas, and agreed on a

Ervin	McClellan	Smith
Fannin	Montoya	Sparkman
Fong	Packwood	Stafford
Goldwater	Pastore	Stennis
Griffin	Percy	Stevens
Gurney	Randolph	Talmadge
Hansen	Roth	Weicker
Hollings	Saxbe	Young
Jordan, N.C.	Schweiker	
Long	Scott	

NAYS—31

Aiken	Hatfield	Pearson
Brooke	Hughes	Pell
Burdick	Mumphrey	Proxmire
Case	Javits	Ribicoff
Church	Magnuson	Spong
Cook	Mansfield	Stevenson
Cranston	McIntyre	Symington
Eagleton	Metcalfe	Tunney
Fulbright	Mondale	Williams
Hart	Moss	
Hartke	Nelson	

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Mathias, against.

NOT VOTING—19

Bayh	Inouye	Mundt
Curtis	Jackson	Muskie
Ellender	Jordan, Idaho	Taft
Gambrell	Kennedy	Thurmond
Gravel	McGee	Tower
Harris	McGovern	
Hruska	Miller	

So Mr. ALLEN's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Several Senators addressed the chair.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The amendment was read, as follows:

On page 27, after line 24, insert the following:

"(7) The President shall, within ninety days after the determinations made by him pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, report to the Congress such determinations, together with a full explanation of the reasons therefor. The President shall also report to the Congress any action taken pursuant to paragraph (3) of this subsection."

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

REFERRAL OF CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 47

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Concurrent Resolution 47, referring to the parking of vehicles on Capitol grounds was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules and Administration be discharged from the further considera-

tion of the concurrent resolution and that it be referred to the Committee on Public Works where it properly belongs. The Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of that committee should handle the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNEY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9910) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 1 minute?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, because of circumstances which have developed, it is my understanding that, following the disposition of the Randolph amendment, the Church-Allott amendment will be called up, and following that, the Brock amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that at 3 o'clock, or approximately 3 o'clock, the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) may be recognized to make some remarks which he would otherwise make during the course of the consideration of the amendment which will be the pending business shortly.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I have two amendments that I want to propose for myself. There are many others. If Senators are going to make speeches, we will never have a chance to bring those amendments up.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I just want to make an inquiry. I do not want to delay this bill for 1 minute, but, as I had understood, a Senator was preparing an amendment with reference to section 513. I learn now, at the last minute, that he is not going to do that. It is my opinion that section 513 is a contradiction of what we have already done in the military procurement bill, and I shall be compelled to offer an amendment to it. It might involve a little time, but we need to deal with it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is all right.

Mr. STENNIS. I have another matter that I think the Senator from Arkansas and I can agree on without an amendment. It has to do with the fiscal years.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think we can agree on that.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for yielding to me. I thought I would mention that.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN).

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I certainly am not going to object, but I think it might be for the benefit of the Senate to know that there is a reception scheduled for 3 o'clock for the head of a foreign government. Most Senators are in-

vited to go, so it would not be a convenient time for Senators to be present.

Mr. CHURCH. That is why I am going to give my speech at that time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I think we could hold up the amendments at that time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, it is my understanding that after this amendment is disposed of, the Symington amendment will be called up, and following that, the Brock amendment.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may we have order? Will the Chair ask Senators to take our seats?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senators will please take their seats so we can listen to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President I am gratified that the Committee on Foreign Relations under the able leadership of its chairman, the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), has incorporated in the foreign assistance bill, H.R. 9910, many of the provisions contained in a measure I introduced in July, S. 2344 in which I was joined by the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH).

I introduced S. 2344 with the cosponsorship of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), in an attempt to establish sanctions with respect to any country which does not do its best to eliminate international traffic in narcotics and other dangerous drugs, and to encourage, through foreign assistance, positive efforts by countries who assist in ridding the world of this insidious menace. As my colleagues know, not 1 ounce of heroin used in the United States is either grown or processed here.

The bill we now consider, H.R. 9910, takes a number of important steps toward combating international drug traffic. It requires the President to terminate any and all aid to countries which he determines are not cooperating in this effort. It authorizes the President to provide financial assistance, with a minimum expenditure of \$25 million for this purpose.

The amendment I now propose is a provision which is contained in S. 2344, but which is not incorporated in the pending legislation. I believe it is a desirable addition to H.R. 9910. It would impose on the President a requirement to report to the Congress within 90 days after the annual determination made pursuant to paragraph 1 of new subsection 629(v) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Under that paragraph the President must assess, on a country-by-country basis, whether each such country "has taken appropriate measures to prevent drugs, partially or completely processed or produced in or transported through such country, from unlawfully entering the United States or from being unlawfully supplied to citizens of the United States."

Within 90 days after this country-by-country determination, the President would, under my amendment, be required to provide a detailed assessment of the effort made by each country so that Congress might have some means by which

\$350 million figure, which was the budget request, and I agreed to the amendment on that basis.

The amendment would actually, though, put that as an annual ceiling, a legislative ceiling, which I thought was all right; you can hardly argue against it.

I said to the Senator from Missouri, as he related yesterday in my absence, that I would support a similar situation as to Cambodia, to take the budget figure, as we did before.

He has now amended his amendment, as I understand it, to \$341 million, which is the amount of the budget request.

We do carry the idea in the bill, though, that this is a legislative ceiling for one year.

Mr. SYMINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. STENNIS. All right. I think that is sound.

Now, there is some language in the bill that uses the word "expenditures." This is technical language that I think ought to be cleared up. It could be cleared up in conference. The question about expenditures or authorizations or commitments—I do not know what all the terms are, but what I wanted to make clear is that this amendment will have no limitations on the spending, if they see fit, of up to some \$341 million; is that correct?

Mr. SYMINGTON. That is my understanding.

Mr. STENNIS. Yes. And the Senator does not intend to limit, after agreeing to this \$341 million, in any way the expenditure of it for purposes in Cambodia?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. STENNIS. If the Senator will yield further, what is an expenditure in this field sometimes requires a definition or an understanding, and I will illustrate.

Some of these goods are used jeeps, we will say, that we would send over into Cambodia. I am just illustrating.

That is a used item, and there has to be some ground rule on how it is going to be evaluated in money figures. It is not an expenditure of new money; it is just the sending over of war material.

Does the Senator understand it that way, and would he be amenable, in conference, if this amendment passes, to having ground rules established, the ones that are used now?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I want to be careful not to say something at variance with the language of the bill.

The bill provides:

For the purpose of this subsection, "value" means the fair market value of any goods, supplies, materials, or equipment provided to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia but in no case less than 33 1/3 per centum of the amount the United States paid at the time such goods, supplies, materials, or equipment were acquired by the United States.

That sounds fair and proper to me.

Mr. STENNIS. That language indicates the principle that I am maintaining for. I am not certain about that 33 1/3 percent. I understand that is a reasonable ground rule.

Mr. SYMINGTON. There is no use in passing any legislation limiting the amount of money but then having the Defense Department or one of the ad-

ministration's adjacent departments first declare something useless and then give it away to the Cambodians. We do not want to waste time in the Senate by in effect setting a ceiling which is the amount they request then have them go millions beyond the ceiling by declaring worthless a lot of equipment they later put to use in Cambodia. I believe this clause is constructive as written in the bill.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, we are trying to make legislative history and are not particularly arguing the bill. I have tentatively agreed to this figure, but it was with the understanding that we were not going to be left in the dark as to interpretations. I think the 33 1/3 percent figure is a reasonable amount, but I do not want any unknown restrictions in this language, and the Senator does not, either.

Mr. SYMINGTON. No. That is right.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, with the understanding about this language and with what clarification may be necessary as to the word "expenditure" in conference, I can support the amendment.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time of the Senator from Missouri has expired.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Six minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I think this is a very inconsistent policy; this amendment rapidly escalates our expenditures in Cambodia.

The Senator from Missouri, I know, was committed to amend his amendment from \$25 million to \$341 million, because he recognized the fact of life that the influence of the Armed Services Committee is dominant in this body. But he wanted an expression of a principle, that Congress still has a slight, remote function to play in the foreign policy field. If the Senator from Missouri had offered an amount \$1 under what the Pentagon wanted, it would have the opposition of the Armed Services Committee, and the amendment would fail.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will yield in a moment.

I will not trade on any such basis. It is not the money that is bothering me, although I think we are in bad shape and cannot afford it. It is the principle of now starting to construct an enormous military machine, using foreign bodies backed by American money and guns.

The Joint Chiefs have been very candid in the newspaper—I do not know whether they intended to be or not—but they are intending to build an army of more than 300,000 Cambodians.

I assume they are doing the same in Laos, because they have asked for a similar vast increase in Laos; and, of course, Thailand is our bastion country, into which we have poured billions of dollars and will continue to do so.

I do not know why it is not legitimate for the Senate to take the responsibility: Do we want to go down that road again? This is the same questions that came to

us in the form of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. At that time, we were misled by lies about what had happened, and our emotions were appealed to—we were told we had been attacked on the open seas in an unprovoked manner, and I and everybody else except two Members of the Senate fell for it.

There is no excuse now for a similar mistake. Our eyes are open. We know what is going on. We know the greatest tragedy and loss to this country since the civil war is going on in Asia. Why do we wish to go down this road again in Cambodia and in Laos?

We are headed in this direction because of the dominant influence of the military committee and the military establishment in this country. I know of no reason for it other than they want to do it. No good reason has been given to me as to why we want to organize and pay for an enormous army in Cambodia. I am against it.

I realize that the votes are here; and if I am the only one who votes against it, I will, because at issue is whether we are going to construct an enormous army of Cambodians. We have already approved one in Laos and, of course, Thailand has enormous amounts of money in here for the maintenance and construction of an enormous army. When I say "enormous," I am referring to the fact that it is far beyond the capacity of these little countries to support the military establishments we encourage on them. Cambodia had approximately 35,000 in her army when Sihanouk left the country. We have already built that up to 185,000, and there are reports to the effect that by 1975 or 1976 they will have 300,000. We pay all the bills. Here is a limit of \$341 million. Next year it will be \$500 million, and the next year it probably will be \$700 million. That is the road we are headed down.

If we had been attacked, or were about to be destroyed, nobody would hesitate to respond. There is that difference between Tonkin Gulf and this. There we had been told, erroneously, that we had been attacked, and we fell for it. There is no similar excuse in this case. We are deliberately undertaking obligations far beyond the needs and against the interests of Cambodia. The people of Cambodia are going to be the victims here, just as the people of Vietnam have been the victims of that situation. The people of Cambodia do not want this to happen to them. They would like us to go home and leave them alone.

Somebody said that we are not going in there. The newspapers said the other day that they have doubled the amount of military advisers in Phnompenh. The Senator from New Jersey has been trying to get a personnel limit. I support his efforts.

I just want to make my position clear. I am not arguing about \$15 million or \$20 million. I am arguing about the policy of this country in undertaking an endless operation in Southeast Asia to build up huge military forces there. I think it is against the President's announced policy of going to Peking, and I think it is against the interests of this country.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will yield for a question.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I do not know when this unanimous-consent agreement was entered into, and ask unanimous consent for an additional 10 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I must object, because the time was available this morning, and that is when part of the time was lost. But I would suggest that 10 minutes be taken out of the bill.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 5 minutes from the bill to the Senator from Missouri.

Does the Senator from New Jersey wish some time?

Mr. CASE. I would like 2 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, how much time do I have on the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One minute.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield that minute plus 5 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I would not want the Senate to misunderstand the basic purpose of this perfecting amendment.

What we want to do is establish control of the vast amounts of money being spent in the Far East. I think it fair to say Congress has lost control of the expenditure of that money. This amendment would now give the administration all the money they say they needed in Cambodia for next year; but before they spend any additional money, it will be necessary for them to come back and obtain additional authorization.

If anyone believes this amount is too much, that can be brought up when the matter comes to the Senate for appropriation approval, or, prior to that, for same when it comes before the Appropriations Committee.

In my opinion the Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services has been quite fair with respect to this proposed legislation. It is probable that we would not be able to adopt this amendment if he had not agreed we should establish control if the administration wants additional money.

Therefore, and with the premise that we will have a chance to get into this matter at the time the Senate approves appropriations, I will vote for the perfecting amendment which I have sent to the desk.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, although I have worked with the Senator from Missouri on this amendment, on which we are cosponsors, and I fully respect his honor in fulfilling the commitment to those who he assured would be given a chance to vote for the pending amendment, I am under no such obligation. I

made no such commitment. I fully support the action of the committee on this particular matter which is to support adoption of the Symington committee amendment for the \$250 million ceiling for the fiscal year and a 200 personnel limitation in the same amendment. The \$250 million represents roughly the current rate of American assistance. On the same premise as that just now urged by the Senator from Missouri, I urge that we keep it at the present rate while we are considering the whole question of our obligation and the depth of our commitment in this new area. It has only been a year and a half since we have gotten into this particular situation. We got into it without congressional approval, wholly on the basis of the discretionary funds used by the administration. It was later approved, it is true, when we considered the supplemental appropriation bill last year, but it was approved on the basis of a much smaller amount than this year, an amount adequate to take care of the current level operation which I think is, if anything, excessive—\$250 million. However, it should remain the same and I urge the Senate to turn down this proposed increase of \$91 million in this area.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Byrd of Virginia). All time has now expired.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk in the nature of a substitute to the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 44, lines 13 and 14, strike out the words "in excess of \$150 million."

On page 44, beginning with "In" on line 20, strike out everything down through and including "any" on line 23, and insert in lieu thereof "No".

On page 44, line 24, insert immediately after "equipment" the words "shall be".

On page 44, line 25, strike out "such" and insert immediately after "year" the date "1972".

On page 45, strike out everything on lines 1 through 6 and everything on lines 16 through 19.

On pages 45 and 46 redesignate paragraphs (e), (f), and (g) as paragraphs (d), (e), and (f), respectively.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Byrd of Virginia). The Chair will say that the amendment offered by the Senator from Alaska is not in order, that it is not a valid substitute, and does not amend the same place in the bill as the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum for a brief moment—I withdraw that request, Mr. President.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes on the bill to clarify the situation.

Mr. President, I was told by the Senator from Alaska that all he wished to do was to change the amount in the amendment of the Senator from Missouri from the \$341 million to \$150 million. It is as simple as that. So that I do not understand why it is not in order. It was sent to the desk. That is the way it was told to me, that the Senator from Alaska was intending to offer it, simply to change the amount in the amendment of the

Senator from Missouri from \$341 to \$150 million. The Senator from Alaska has a right to do that, and, of course, from my point of view, I shall support it because I do not approve of an increase in the amount as offered in the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The Senator from Alaska told me what he wanted to do, that he wanted to change the amount to \$150 million. I do not understand why it is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Byrd of Virginia). The Chair will say that the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri affects two places in the bill. The amendment offered by the Senator from Alaska affects five different places, including a different page of the bill.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I have sent another copy of a perfecting amendment to the desk which I would ask the Parliamentarian to rule on its acceptability to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the perfecting amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 44, lines 13 and 14, strike out the words "in excess of \$250 million" and insert "\$150 million."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is in order.

Who yields time?

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much times does the Senator require?

Mr. GRAVEL. As much time as I may need to make my introductory remarks, and then I will be happy to yield to other Senators who may wish to address themselves to this same issue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska may proceed.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, my original amendment was to eliminate all money for Cambodia. This is not new. I offered a similar one last year, along with several of my colleagues; but we were not successful last year.

I am totally distressed over the fact that this body chooses to escalate our involvement—and I use the word "escalate" because I have heard it mentioned here that we are treading water and keeping the same commitment we had last year. That is not the case. Members should be on notice that we are escalating, that we are not treading water.

It seems unlikely that we could garner enough support from the membership to secure passage of my original amendment, so at the request of the Senator from Arkansas I am happy to modify my amendment to leave out the bombing provision and to permit a modicum amount for cleanup operations. We could try at least to rehabilitate the country and leave it in a semblance of the state in which we found it. That is the reason I have gone along with the \$150 million. The \$150 million is still treading water, but not the \$250 million.

As I recall the incidents last year, we went into Cambodia on a unilateral decision, without the permission of Congress, and spent money to the tune of \$100 million, taking that money from aid that would have gone to other countries.

What came before this body last December was a piece of legislation to put back the money the President had spent unilaterally, robbing various aid programs to do so. The amount was first \$100 million. Then the request was for \$150 million; so, thus far, what has been spent in Cambodia, in excess of 1 year, has been \$250 million.

What was agreed to, before the fact, was \$150 million. Now we are asked to agree, before the fact, to \$250 million.

If that is not escalation, then obviously—

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, if the Senator from Alaska will yield on that point, the Senator from Missouri's perfecting amendment makes it \$341 million. Actually, the \$250 million is what the committee bill provides and then yesterday the McGee amendment was suggested and voted down, which would have lifted any ceiling at all. The Senator from Missouri, as he has stated, had the understanding of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) that we would change this amount today to \$341 million. The Senator from Alaska would be cutting the \$341 million back to \$150 million.

Mr. GRAVEL. That is right.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The issue is simple: Do we want to increase the amount of money to Cambodia to build up a large army, which we will have to support, or do we wish to stabilize at a lower level?

These amounts are simply a symbol of a policy. I would hope the Senate would not go on record as saying it is in favor of, in effect, of letting the administration do whatever it deems proper in Cambodia and in Laos. I do not understand how this can be interpreted as a restraint. It is for 1 year. Next year they will say, "We want \$550 million." And the year after they will want \$800 million, and we will have to have a ceiling of \$800 million.

The Senator from Alaska is trying to cut back by about \$200 million, when judged against the \$341 million being offered by the Senator from Missouri. I think that is a very simple proposition. The substitute amendment of the Senator from Alaska draws attention not only to money, but also to policy.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I ask that the amendment be modified as identified by the Parliamentarian.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is accordingly modified.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GRAVEL. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, again I hope that the Senate does not get the wrong impression about the basic thrust of the position some of us are taking on this measure. It did not make any real difference what the figure is that was approved by the Foreign Relations Committee or passed by the Senate in the past, the administration has spent the money the way they wanted and to the amount they desired. Let me repeat, the basic thrust of this amendment is to get some control.

One time a man told his attorney, "When I die, I will leave my wife \$1 million."

His lawyer said "You haven't \$1 million."

The man said, "I know, but it will look great in the papers."

That is the type and character of operation we have been conducting around here. It has been going on for years. It ought to stop. Our limitations of money may have looked great in the papers, but at times they have no practical meaning.

Whatever the Congress authorizes is all of the money that should be spent by the administration.

For those who think that this is too much money—and I am one of them—there will be a full chance to analyze the matter in coming days and weeks as to how much should be reduced.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I would hope that the Senator would join me in my amendment. If he feels that the money being spent is too much, let us say that it is too much and not go any further.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the Senator and I have discussed this matter. He has come in with a heavy reduction. If we get control, later we can determine the amount of money. Without control, we are talking to the winds.

Mr. GRAVEL. How would that give us control? If we say \$500 million, what will stop them from spending \$500 million?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator apparently has not read the amendment, or the bill as it came from the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, would the Senator yield me 5 minutes of his time so that I might discuss the matter?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I had asked the distinguished ranking minority member of the committee to yield me 3 minutes for the same purpose.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I would be glad to yield time to the Senator from Montana. However, first I would like to clear up any misunderstanding that may exist. The State Department is in favor of the Symington proposal to increase funds to \$341 million. I am sure of that.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, would the Senator from Vermont yield me 5 minutes after he has yielded time to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes, Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, when President Nixon recognized the government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, he dispatched two men to the embassy—it was not a legation at the time—to represent us. In the interim, when Sihanouk was overthrown, there were nine members of our military—I do not believe they were attached to the military mission in Phnom Penh. Today there are in excess of 150 civilian and military personnel, with the military in the preponderance.

Not so many days ago, there appeared in the public prints an outline of a 5-year aid plan for Cambodia, I think estimating in 1975 or 1976 an increase in the military from \$35,000 at the time of the overthrow of Sihanouk to, I be-

lieve \$700,000, which is a higher figure than mentioned by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and at the same time increasing the cost of the participation to us.

I did not vote for the Case-Symington amendment in committee. I have not voted for an amendment on the floor, that I recall. And the reason I have not voted, and will not vote, for either the Gravel amendment, the substitute, or the Symington amendment, is because to do so in my opinion would be to place a stamp of approval on our participation in what we are doing in Cambodia not only now, but also in the years ahead if the programed outline bears any semblance to the truth. That I will not join in doing.

So, I want the RECORD to be clear. If it were a clearcut, outright doing away with all funds, I would vote for it. However, to me \$150 million is just the same as \$341 million.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Senator and I have discussed this problem. This is the problem we had also in the Laotian amendment. We settled that, and I think we will get it sustained in conference.

This is almost identical. Let us move back a little. About 15 months ago we were fighting in Cambodia. Our men were fighting there and were getting killed. The President of the United States ordered them in there. No one except a foolish man—and he is certainly not a foolish man—would have sent our men there if he thought it was not necessary in order to maintain our position and protect our men.

This is altogether a different policy. Our men are out of there now. Whoever the men are that are fighting there, they are not our boys. However, this country is in jeopardy. They are having to fight for their lives. It is still a question of whether they will be able to survive.

So, what is this aid? Here it is broken down. We have a breakdown of these other countries.

This will be an absolute control. They cannot spend more.

Of the \$341 million, \$240 million is for military assistance. About two-thirds of it goes for ammunition and spare parts and about one-third of it goes for various other equipment.

My guess is that about half of that equipment, at least, is secondhand equipment, something that we have already used. It is valued according to the formula to which the Senator referred.

The next item is economic aid, \$110 million. That is an item in this amendment. That is big AID, \$10 million, economic aid. There is no military and no Department of Defense. The Senator from Arkansas gets excited about that sometimes.

This is a program that comes from the Foreign Relations Committee. Public Law 480, food for peace, \$20 million.

Excess defense articles, that is some extra articles, \$11 million.

The total is \$341 million. That is the estimate of about what would be needed.

I have already explained about the ammunition and the spare parts. I think at this stage we have no valid choice except to affirm these figures, as the Senator from Missouri who is well versed in this matter has proposed, and we will let this matter ride on with an actual ceiling on it. They cannot spend any more than that and in that way we have established legislative control on how much will be spent in this country for all purposes, including this used military equipment. So it is on that basis we are trying to get this as a practical matter. I commend the Senator for his willingness to settle this on a reasonable, practical basis. We follow next year from this starting point and we will have control on it.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment of the Senator from Alaska is rejected and that the amendment of the Senator from Missouri is agreed to.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, how much time remains on each side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. GRAVEL. How much time is remaining to the Senator from Arkansas?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas has 5 minutes remaining.

Who yields time?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee has made the case very well. However, I cannot allow the RECORD to stand with out answering a remark made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the effect that assistance for Cambodia in line with the budget request would actually go against the policy of the administration or the President.

The President's policy is to withdraw American troops as rapidly as practicable from that part of the world. His policy is that U.S. troops should not be used to defend every threatened country; his policy is to encourage such other countries to bear the primary responsibility for defending themselves.

But the Nixon doctrine does not mean that we have abandoned all our friends in the world or that we have abandoned all non-Communist nations that want to resist aggression. There are two main parts of the doctrine. One important part is that we will help our friends defend themselves.

There is no question that what is going on in Cambodia is not a civil war. There has been some argument about whether the war in South Vietnam is a civil war. In Cambodia it is out and out aggression by North Vietnam. In Cambodia the Cambodians want to defend themselves and they are defending themselves. Our policy is to help them, but without providing any of our troops to do the fighting.

The distinguished chairman of the

Committee on Foreign Relations has pointed to the fact that there may be some relaxation of tensions, attributable in part to the President's forthcoming visit to Moscow and Peking, and he has referred to the fact that the situation is better in South Vietnam. The situation is better in South Vietnam, but the situation is better, because we helped the South Vietnamese build up an army capable of defending itself while we have been withdrawing. The situation has not improved, because of any change in attitude on the part of the North Vietnamese.

If we help the Cambodians defend themselves, we are acting in our own interest, particularly if we recall that we have some treaty obligations to such countries as Thailand.

The distinguished majority leader spoke in terms of Sihanouk being "overthrown." I do not know what he means by the word "overthrown," but I am sure he did not mean to leave the impression that Sihanouk was not replaced in the regular manner. In fact, Lon Nol was put in power in the same way that Sihanouk came to power, and as I understand it, the very people Sihanouk appointed replaced Sihanouk and put Lon Nol in. That does not mean that I necessarily agree with the form or composition of the government there as now constituted. But that is really not the question.

Mr. President, I urge that the Gravel amendment be rejected and that the Symington amendment be approved.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alaska yield for a question?

Mr. GRAVEL. I have only a few minutes remaining. Will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is yielding time on the bill.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, how much time do we have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 2 minutes remaining to the Senator from Arkansas who has the opposition time on the amendment, and 3 minutes remaining to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does the Senator from Massachusetts wish me to yield 2 minutes?

Mr. BROOKE. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. BROOKE. I wish to ask if the Senator from Alaska broke down the amount of money into items he would recover by the \$150 million he proposes to reduce it to?

Mr. GRAVEL. No, I have no breakdown.

Mr. BROOKE. The Senator cut the total sum and it is not broken down, as the Senator from Mississippi indicated.

Mr. GRAVEL. No.

Mr. BROOKE. It puts a ceiling on the total amount and reduces it to \$150 million without regard to how it shall be spent.

Mr. GRAVEL. That is correct. I want to emphasize that the word "ceiling" in my opinion is a misnomer.

Mr. BROOKE. I am sorry. I did not understand the Senator.

Mr. GRAVEL. It is a misnomer. I do not think it will work. I have not seen any ceiling in this body work.

If this body had some of the sharing of responsibility we talk about we could end this cottonpicking war. The inference was made that the invasion was by North Vietnam. The invasion of Cambodia took place by this country. I hope that would be made clear.

When we hear a government that talks of sterile democracy which it is going to put aside, and we see a program by this administration to escalate, let us go over the arithmetic again.

Last year the President, when we unilaterally invaded Cambodia, submitted a figure of \$100 million and all we did was approve it. Along with that request, to pay back Peter who had been robbed by Paul, was another \$150 million that was approved by this body. Now, we are asked by the administration, by the committee, for \$250 million, which is an escalation of \$100 million more than we approved last year, and we are asked to go to \$300 million carte blanche.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GRAVEL. I yield.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I intend to support the Senator on this amendment, but I protest against the suggestion that what we are doing here is an exercise in futility. For the first time this will put an absolute ceiling, not on appropriations but on spending. For all purposes it overrides all provisions for discretionary authority, transfers, or anything else; and I do not want any legislative history to be on the books which would give the chance for any executive agency to say this was not intended to be an absolute ceiling on spending of all kinds.

Mr. GRAVEL. My colleague has been here much longer than I, and I would defer to his judgment, but I have been disillusioned in my tenure here.

Mr. CASE. Of course, but we have done this before and in supporting the Senator's amendment I want to be very clear that we are not intending in any way to leave any of those loopholes which have existed still in effect.

Mr. GRAVEL. I realize that is the good faith of my colleague.

Mr. CASE. Not only good faith, but action by this body. We are not intending to leave any discretionary authority to transfer from one fund to another or anything of that sort, and I hope the Senator will not leave the suggestion that he intends it.

Mr. GRAVEL. No, not the slightest. I endorse my colleague's statement 110 percent.

I have found as we close loopholes, down the street they open them just as fast. They prosecute the war regardless of what we say, regardless of demonstrated facts on our part.

I hope this will be a firm reduction and that my amendment will be agreed to, because it would do what Members of

the Senate have said they want done: Tread water. But to increase beyond \$150 million is not treading water, and every one should understand it is an escalation of our activity in Cambodia.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GRAVEL. I yield.

Mr. CASE. The point of my protest before about use of the suggestion that this is just an idle gesture, is given special support by this newspaper report which said that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had proposed four ways to get around any ceiling over spending—or any limitation, rather, not a ceiling on spending—which is what we are doing—but to get around any limitation on authorization in this bill. It is for that reason that it is terribly important that we not only have a limitation on authorizations, which we have, but this ceiling, which would be on the spending.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GRAVEL. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired on the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute on the bill.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I have no doubt about it. This is an actual ceiling. This is a limitation on expenditures. It was our committee which dug in and dug out to get the figures and required the report. We know what the expenditures are going to be. We know what the program is. We know what are the used goods and the evaluations put on them. Have no doubt about it—this is an actual ceiling and an actual limitation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the perfecting amendment of the Senator from Alaska to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the negative). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER). If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN), and the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) would vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Idaho

(Mr. JORDAN), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) is absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD), and the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER) are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 53, as follows:

[No. 279 Leg.]

YEAS—26

Bayh	Gravel	Nelson
Brooke	Hart	Pell
Burdick	Hatfield	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Hughes	Randolph
Case	Mathias	Ribicoff
Church	Metcalf	Schweiker
Cotton	Mondale	Tunney
Cranston	Montoya	Williams
Fulbright	Moss	

NAYS—53

Aiken	Dole	McIntyre
Allen	Domnick	Packwood
Allott	Eagleton	Pastore
Anderson	Eastland	Pearson
Baker	Ervin	Percy
Beall	Fannin	Roth
Bellmon	Fong	Saxbe
Bennett	Goldwater	Scott
Bentsen	Griffin	Smith
Bible	Gurney	Sparkman
Boggs	Hansen	Spong
Brock	Hollings	Stennis
Buckley	Humphrey	Stevens
Byrd, Va.	Javits	Stevenson
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Symington
Chiles	Long	Talmadge
Cook	Magnuson	Young
Cooper	McClellan	

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Mansfield, against.

NOT VOTING—20

Curtis	Jackson	Muskie
Ellender	Jordan, Idaho	Stafford
Gambrell	Kennedy	Taft
Harris	McGee	Thurmond
Hartke	McGovern	Tower
Hruska	Miller	Weicker
Inouye	Mundt	

So Mr. GRAVEL's amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri. All time on the amendment has expired. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. PASTORE (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a live pair with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER). If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." I have already voted "yea." I therefore withdraw my vote, as an accommodation to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS), the Sena-

tor from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN), and the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) would vote "yea."

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) would vote "nay."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. JORDAN), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) is absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 45, nays 36, as follows:

[No. 280 Leg.]

YEAS—45

Aiken	Dole	Percy
Allott	Domnick	Randolph
Baker	Eastland	Roth
Beall	Fannin	Saxbe
Bellmon	Fong	Scott
Bennett	Goldwater	Smith
Bentsen	Griffin	Sparkman
Bible	Gurney	Spong
Boggs	Hansen	Stafford
Brock	Hollings	Stennis
Buckley	Long	Stevens
Byrd, Va.	Magnuson	Symington
Byrd, W. Va.	McIntyre	Talmadge
Cannon	Packwood	Tunney
Cook	Pearson	Young

NAYS—36

Allen	Ervin	Metcalf
Anderson	Fulbright	Mondale
Bayh	Gravel	Montoya
Brooke	Hart	Moss
Burdick	Hatfield	Nelson
Case	Hughes	Pell
Chiles	Humphrey	Proxmire
Church	Javits	Ribicoff
Cooper	Jordan, N.C.	Schweiker
Cotton	Mansfield	Stevenson
Cranston	Mathias	Weicker
Eagleton	McClellan	Williams

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Pastore, for.

NOT VOTING—18

Curtis	Inouye	Miller
Ellender	Jackson	Mundt
Gambrell	Jordan, Idaho	Muskie
Harris	Kennedy	Taft
Hartke	McGee	Thurmond
Hruska	McGovern	Tower

● So Mr. SYMINGTON's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—
ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution:

S. 137. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain public lands in Wyoming to the occupants of the land; and

S. J. Res. 167. Joint resolution to extend authority conferred by the Export Administration Act of 1969.

Subsequently the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia) signed the enrolled bill and joint resolution.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF
1971

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9910) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, and for other purposes.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT) and myself I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BEALL). The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 20, lines 19 and 20, strike out the amount \$425,000,000 and insert in lieu thereof \$285,000,000.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield to me so that I may discuss a proposed unanimous-consent request?

Mr. CHURCH. I am happy to yield to the Senator for that purpose.

TEMPORARY AMENDMENT OF THE 20-MINUTE
RULE ON ROLLCALL VOTES

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, to expedite the work of the Senate, I proposed to the assistant majority leader that we consider at this time making a unanimous-consent request for the duration of the pending bill only, and through final passage, that the rule regarding rollcall votes be amended so as to permit the reduction of the time allotted from 20 minutes to 15 minutes, with the usual 5-minute warning being allowed at the end of the first 10 minutes.

If that is satisfactory, the assistant majority leader or I could propose the amendment.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the matter has been discussed with and approved by the distinguished majority leader. I therefore speak in his stead. At this moment there are no committees meeting this afternoon. Under the previous order, the final vote is to occur at not later than 7 o'clock. We have amendments that remain to be acted upon by rollcall votes.

If all Senators are on notice—and we will ask the cloakrooms to put out the notice over the telephone—the leadership on this side of the aisle would concur with the suggestion and make the request.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on all remaining rollcall votes

on the pending bill, including final passage, there be 15 minutes allotted, with the warning bell to be sounded 5 minutes prior to the announcement of the vote by the Chair.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, so that the members of the Finance Committee will be given appropriate credit, I point out that a meeting is now being held. However, the committee is meeting close by and we can get here in a short time.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is meeting so quietly that we did not know about it.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the able assistant minority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, if the distinguished Senator would yield further, I would like to make a comment. I know that there are a number of Senators who are anxious to keep speaking engagements tonight and tomorrow. We have done our best to accommodate them. I would solicit and encourage all Senators who have amendments to, if possible, restrain an oratorical urge beyond the point of persuasion and to ask themselves whether or not loquacity is counterproductive after a certain point. If they would be good enough to accommodate each to the other, we might enable some of our colleagues, including the speaker, to make a speaking engagement tonight.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in line with the exhortation of the distinguished assistant majority leader for Senators to be brief, I do not intend to speak at any length on this amendment.

The purpose of the Church-Allott amendment is to reduce from \$425 million to \$285 million the amount authorized in the bill for the Development Loan Fund. Although at first glance this looks like a hefty cut, the amendment's adoption would actually impose only a very modest reduction in the Development Loan Fund, as it is likely to emerge from the Senate-House conference, where past practice has been to split the difference between the Senate and House figures.

The House authorization for the D.L.F. is \$400 million. If this amendment were adopted, the difference between the House and Senate figures would be \$115 million. And if, as I have every reason to anticipate, the general practice is followed and the difference is split, that would mean that the end result of the adoption of this amendment would be to effect a modest reduction of \$57.5 million in the Development Loan Fund. The program could easily survive so modest a reduction.

I know that the Development Loan Fund carries with it certain favorable connotations. For example, one thinks of the funds as improving living standards abroad; some have said that this feature of the aid program is the one most directly related to long-term economic gains.

At close examination, however, the program has really become a public subsidy for financing the export of Ameri-

can goods and services. Approximately 93 percent of the money is spent here in the United States. As such, it is more accurate to look upon the program as but another of the Federal subsidy programs. We must ask ourselves, then, whether our priorities allow us to continue to subsidize so much spending for export, in the light of the dire need for more spending here in our own country.

The Development Loan Fund is, in effect, a soft loan window for our Export-Import Bank. Through the DLF, it is possible for foreign countries to obtain loans with which to purchase American produced goods and services on terms more favorable than otherwise available, better than any commercial terms, better than any terms directly available through the Export-Import Bank. Through the DLF soft window, foreign countries can secure long-term loans, with a grace period of 10 years during which no repayment of capital is required, and at subsidized interest rates far below the cost of money to the U.S. Government.

With these subsidized loans, purchases are made from American firms. Last year, for example, some 4,000 American firms in 50 States received \$1.3 billion in AID funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program.

Mr. President, the oft asserted lament that our foreign aid program lacks a constituency in the United States is another one of those myths we hold so dear. In fact, aid has a large and lively constituency which asserts intense pressure on the Government to keep these subsidies alive. The real question we face, then, is whether we are to continue so large a public subsidy to finance the sale of American goods and services in foreign lands, or whether we are going to begin to cut back on foreign spending, in order to free more money to apply here at home on problems that continue to plague our own people.

I recall all the pious assurances given the American people about changing priorities, about shifting more of our resources to the solution of our own problems in the slums of our cities, in our emptying countryside, and in the ghettos. Think of the money so desperately needed to deal with drug addiction, and actually to come to grips with reducing the pollution that so blights our own environment. Yet, in the face of all that talk, the truth is that Congress is in the process of adopting a larger aid program this year than we have had in the past. We are not cutting back on foreign spending. In fact, this bill represents nothing more than the tip of the iceberg, less than 40 percent of the total foreign aid package this year; the program actually exceeds \$9 billion.

At the same time, we are increasing, rather than reducing, the size of the military budget. We will soon approve military appropriations that will exceed those at the height of our involvement in Vietnam. It is incredible, but it is true.

So I see the Church-Allott amendment as a very modest step, cutting back on the authorization of the Development Loan Fund from \$445 million to \$285 million which, as I have explained, would represent a reduction of even less, in the

October 29, 1971

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 52, as follows:

[No. 282 Leg.]

YEAS—28

Allen	Cook	Jordan, N.C.
Allott	Dole	Jordan, Idaho
Baker	Dominick	McClellan
Bennett	Eastland	Smith
Bible	Ervin	Stennis
Brock	Fannin	Stevens
Buckley	Fong	Talmadge
Byrd, Va.	Gurney	Young
Byrd, W. Va.	Hansen	
Cannon	Hollings	

NAYS—52

Aiken	Hatfield	Percy
Anderson	Humphrey	Proxmire
Bayh	Javits	Randolph
Beall	Kennedy	Ribicoff
Bellmon	Long	Roth
Bentsen	Magnuson	Saxbe
Boggs	Mansfield	Schweiker
Brooke	Mathias	Scott
Burdick	McIntyre	Sparkman
Case	Metcalf	Spong
Chiles	Mondale	Stafford
Church	Montoya	Stevenson
Cooper	Moss	Symington
Cranston	Nelson	Taft
Fulbright	Packwood	Weicker
Griffin	Pastore	Williams
Harris	Pearson	
Hart	Pell	

NOT VOTING—20

Cotton	Hartke	Miller
Curtis	Hruska	Mundt
Eagleton	Hughes	Muskie
Ellender	Inouye	Thurmond
Gambrell	Jackson	Tower
Goldwater	McGee	Tunney
Gravel	McGovern	

So Mr. DOMINICK's amendment was rejected.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PASTORE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 32, line 11, strike out "\$565,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$452,000,000".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in order to accommodate three Senators, the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS), I have agreed to yield briefly, with the consent of the Senate, provided I do not lose my right to the floor.

[Disturbance in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Galleries will be in order. The Sergeant at Arms will see that order in the galleries is restored.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from New Jersey may proceed.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I call up an

amendment affecting page 34 of the bill, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. And, without objection, even though the amendment of the Senator from Idaho is the pending business, the Senate will proceed to consider the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE's amendment is as follows:

On page 34, lines 13 and 14, strike out "South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, or Burma" and insert in lieu thereof "North Vietnam, or Thailand".

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator from Idaho for his consideration, and, pursuant to my assurance, I shall delay him only slightly, I am sure there will be no difficulty about this amendment.

Mr. President, on page 34 of the bill, the committee added a provision to the effect that no funds authorized or appropriated under any provision of law should be made available by means of any officer, employee, or agency of the United States to finance military operations by foreign forces in six countries—Laos, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, or Burma—unless Congress specifically authorizes the use of such funds for that purpose, and designates the area where they will be used.

I have received from the chairman of the Armed Services Committee an expression of concern about the breadth of this amendment, and after discussions with him, we have arrived at the understanding that—

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Chair maintain order? I think this is an important matter, and the Senator ought to be heard, in view of a possible agreement on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator will suspend his remarks until order has been restored.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the distinguished Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) and I have discussed this matter. His concern about the number of countries affected by the amendment as reported by our committee was one that I recognized with respect. Pursuant to an understanding that we have arrived at, I now offer this amendment to eliminate from the effect of the bill three of the six countries, leaving in Laos, North Vietnam, and Thailand. That is the whole amendment.

The Senator from Mississippi has been gracious enough to say that while he wants to consider this matter further at a later stage in the legislation, for the purposes of the consideration of the bill in the Senate at this time, such an amendment is satisfactory.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. CASE. I am happy to yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, as I have understood, now, the Senator proposes that in section 513 on page 34 of the bill, the words "South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Burma" be stricken out of lines 13 and 14, as they appear.

Mr. CASE. That is right.

Mr. STENNIS. That would leave, of course, then, the words "Laos, North Vietnam, and Thailand," as they appear now in the bill.

Mr. President, the Senator from New Jersey has correctly stated the understanding that we have had about this legislation, and we have agreed, for the purpose of this legislative step, that this modification of section 513 will put the section where it may stay in the bill in that form, and we can move forward with the bill without any further amendment being filed or brought up by the Senator from Mississippi.

I do make the point, as the Senator has implied, that this is done without prejudice to a full consideration of the matter in conference, based on the facts as they may exist at that time.

Is that the Senator's understanding?

Mr. CASE. The Senator has stated correctly what his position is, and the basis on which his agreement not to oppose this amendment or to offer another amendment to this section is based.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator, and I wish to make this further explanation: I think leaving the word "Laos" in here—

Mr. CASE. That is another section.

Mr. STENNIS. I beg the Senator's pardon?

Mr. CASE. I thought the Senator was talking about another section.

Mr. STENNIS. No, I am talking about the same section. I think that leaving the word "Laos" in the bill as now written is perhaps a contradiction of a provision on the same subject in the military procurement bill we passed 2½ weeks ago. However, I think that to get all the real facts on this matter before the Senate now would require a closed session. There is hardly time for that now, and I do not think there is any mood for it, either. So, as an original proposition, and without prejudice, we agreed to let this matter go as has already been outlined, and then in conference there will be a chance to really consider and discuss any facts that might be relevant; and I would rest on the decision that is made by the conferees.

Under those circumstances, I hope that the modification will be acceptable to the Senate. I have talked with some Senators about supporting my position in this matter, and I now withdraw the request because I believe this meets the situation.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I yield to the chairman, if he wishes to make comment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am in full agreement with that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 1 minute?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. I want the record to show that I consider this an important matter and that I am free to follow it

are doing, or does the record show that our contributions have been rather steady and that for several years have declined and right now are up to about the 1965 level and are strongly related to what other countries are doing?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, it is very difficult to answer that question. It varies so much. Earlier, mention was made that last year we paid 86.3 percent of the WHO special programs. This year we will pay 28.6 percent. So, I think we are putting in more money. This is a point I am making. We are putting more money into the program, but other nations are putting in a lot more money. So that our percentage, the total amount of money we put in, goes up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I would like to get an additional 5 minutes on the bill to take care of the time I extended to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I thank my friend, the Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I want to repeat once again what I am trying to do. Some Senators seem to have the feeling that has been expressed here that somehow or other we are out to gut the United Nations. I am trying to do the opposite. I am trying to make it effective and have more participation in these programs and show the world that although we support the programs we will not be Santa Claus for the rest of the world.

It makes more sense to do it this way than to chop program after program because it does not make any difference which one is picked, someone will say that that program is the most dramatic program we have and it has to be maintained. So we would do it this way. It gives the opportunity for programs to be more effective and it gives the opportunity for other nations to come in. It says to the world that we are not going to be Santa Claus for each of these programs. It provides an opportunity for an increase in contributions in many of these programs beyond what we now have with the authorization system we have developed in this bill.

Hopefully the Committee on Foreign Relations will, as the Senator from Alabama said, have a chance to go into each one of these next year to determine if we should raise our amounts on a program-by-program basis or give the appropriation to the State Department to provide it in a way they think effective. Either way is all right as long as they do not have more than one-third for each of the programs.

It seems to me this makes for a far better approach than to try to do something else that other nations might think

is direct retribution. This is not retribution.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 2 minutes remaining on the amendment and 2 minutes remaining on the bill.

Mr. DOMINICK. I reserve that time in the event anyone wants to discuss the amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I hope this amendment is defeated this afternoon. I do not think this is the time or the place for us to try to establish these percentages in terms of the United Nations. Those matters should be handled in the appropriate committees. This matter was not given the attention it should have, as the Senator from New York pointed out. In the wave of recrimination that has taken place after the vote on Monday night in the United Nations, this outback would have extreme implications on our commitment to the United Nations.

Finally, I have had intimate involvement in some of these programs in the United Nations, as other Senators have had. I have seen the effectiveness of the World Health Organization in attempting to meet problems of disease in many developing countries, including Southeast Asia. I have seen the work of the UNICEF program in India and Pakistan. I have seen the effect of the U.N. relief efforts, particularly the Biafran, East Pakistan, and Peruvian situation.

These are perhaps the most effective programs in meeting human needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield the Senator 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I think the record of these programs is a strong record. They benefit people in the most dramatic way we could possibly imagine.

I hope this amendment which would, in effect, cut the life and heart out of these specialized programs of the United Nations, will be defeated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, another agency that the Senator from Massachusetts did not include is Food and Agriculture, the FAO. He mentioned, I believe, UNICEF, the children's program. Mention has been made of the fact that with the adoption of an amendment to this bill giving us the right to make annual authorizations we will have the chance to examine these matters item by item next year and not take this haphazard way of making the cuts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time? The Senator from Colorado has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I will take the remaining time to repeat once again the purpose of the amendment. I

will be brief. I think most Senators understand it.

If this amendment is agreed to, it is probable that the total amount of the cut—we cannot be sure what it will be—should not be more than \$25 million out of \$100 million. Certainly, that is not gutting the bill.

Second, it is possible we will have to have more money in a supplemental rather than less money because of the other countries coming into the program and thereby cutting the total dollar amount. That is a possibility in the future.

Third, I would say the main thing about the amendment which I think is helpful is that it will increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. This is so in every organization with which I have been associated. The broader sweep there is in an organization, the larger participation there is in it, the more likelihood there is of success in that organization.

This is what I am trying to do in the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGOVERN), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from California (Mr. TUNNEY), and the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE) are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER) is paired with the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE).

If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would "yea" and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGOVERN) would each vote "nay."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. CORTON), the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) is absent on official business.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senators from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) would each vote "yea."

up, as is the Senator from New Jersey, of course, or anyone else—the chairman of the committee or anyone else—and get the facts together and get it before the conference.

Mr. CASE. The situation is that the matter will be in conference, because the House bill does not contain any provision on this subject.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey.

•The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHURCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho, by unanimous consent, yielded to three Senators in order, the first of those Senators being the Senator from New Jersey.

•Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, under the agreement, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 34, line 4, strike out the words "Laos, or South Vietnam."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be in order.

Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. President, this is exactly the same circumstance as the previous one, by agreement with the Senator from Mississippi. We have discussed this matter. This involves the return to the Committee on Foreign Relations of jurisdiction over military assistance to Laos, South Vietnam and Thailand.

We have agreed to strike out South Vietnam and Laos but to retain Thailand. The Senator from Mississippi does not disagree, I may say, with the return ultimately of the jurisdiction over Laos and South Vietnam, but he thinks it is premature to put it in this bill at this time. Therefore, by mutual agreement, I have agreed to this modification.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Senator from Arkansas has correctly stated the matter. Thailand is left in the bill; and military assistance hereafter, if this becomes law, will be handled by the Committee on Foreign Relations. I am willing that, in the future, jurisdiction with respect to Southeast Asia be returned to the Committee on Foreign Relations. I think that while we are there and our men are there and the activities are going on, we ought to keep it where it is, because they have to be considered together. I appreciate the Senator's position.

With that, I am satisfied with the section as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who is

acting for the minority leader? Does the minority leader yield back the remainder of his time on this amendment?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I yield back the remainder of the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

•The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have a technical amendment that does not affect the bill at all, except to clear up a typographical error.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows: On page 20, line 18, after "1969," insert the following: "\$350,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970, and".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is in order. Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, this has no effect upon the bill at all. It is a mistake, a typographical error, on the part of the staff in preparing the bill. They did not make many errors, but this is a hard bill to keep straight. This amendment has no effect on anything substantive in the bill. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I yield back the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 546

•Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on which we have agreed. I do not think it will take more than a minute or minute and a half.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I have no objection, on the basis of the same qualification.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 57, line 7, after the word "responsibilities" insert the following words: "within the jurisdiction of these committees", and on line 11, after the word "information" insert the following words: "within the jurisdiction of these committees".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is in order. Who yields time?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, this is another amendment on which we worked out an agreement with the Senator from Arkansas. It relates to reports being made by the Department of State to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and we are in favor of that. The language was so broad, however, that we thought it would include some items over which the Committee on Armed Services has primary jurisdiction. These words merely correct and clarify that point, and I hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I wish the RECORD to show that that is exactly what we agreed. There was no

intention of the committee to usurp any jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee. This amendment clarifies the intention of the committee.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. STENNIS. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi.

•The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss).

ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHES NATIONAL PARK, UTAH

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 30.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN) laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 30) to establish the Arches National Park in the State of Utah, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

That (a) subject to valid existing rights, the lands, waters, and interests therein within the boundary generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Proposed Arches National Park, Utah," numbered RPSSC-138-20, 001E and dated September 1969, are hereby established as the Arches National Park, hereinafter referred to as the "park". Such map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

(b) The Arches National Monument is hereby abolished, and any funds available for purposes of the monument shall be available for purposes of the park. Federal lands, waters, and interests therein excluded from the monument by this Act shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") in accordance with the laws applicable to the public lands of the United States.

Sec. 2. The Secretary is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, transfer from any Federal agency, exchange or otherwise, the lands and interests in lands described in the first section of this Act, except that lands or interests therein owned by the State of Utah, or any political subdivision thereof, may be acquired only with the approval of such State or political subdivision.

Sec. 3. Where any Federal lands included within the park are legally occupied or utilized on the date of approval of this Act for grazing purposes, pursuant to a lease, permit, or license for a fixed term of years issued or authorized by any department, establishment, or agency of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior shall permit the persons holding such grazing privileges or their heirs to continue in the exercise thereof during the term of the lease, permit, or license, and one period of renewal thereafter.

Sec. 4. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as affecting in any way any rights of owners and operators of cattle and sheep herds, existing on the date immediately prior to the enactment of this Act, to trail their herds on traditional courses used by them prior to such date of enactment, and to water their stock, notwithstanding the fact that the lands involving such trails and watering

are situated within the park: *Provided*, That the Secretary may designate driveways and promulgate reasonable regulations providing for the use of such driveways.

Sec. 5. (a) The National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary, shall administer, protect, and develop the park, subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535).

(b) Within three years from the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President, in accordance with subsections 3(c) and 3(d) of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 898; 16 U.S.C. 1132 (c) and (d)), his recommendations as to the suitability or unsuitability of any area within the park for preservation as wilderness, and any designation of any such area as a wilderness shall be in accordance with said Wilderness Act.

Sec. 6. (a) The Secretary, in consultation with appropriate Federal departments and appropriate agencies of the State and its political subdivisions shall conduct a study of proposed road alignments within and adjacent to the park. Such study shall consider what roads are appropriate and necessary for full utilization of the area for the purpose of this Act as well as to connect with roads of ingress and egress to the area.

(b) A report of the findings and conclusions of the Secretary shall be submitted to the Congress within two years of the date of enactment of this Act, including recommendations for such further legislation as may be necessary to implement the findings and conclusions developed from the study.

Sec. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, not to exceed, however, \$125,000 for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands and not to exceed \$1,031,800 (April 1970 prices) for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reasons of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein. The sums authorized in this section shall be available for acquisition and development undertaken subsequent to the approval of this Act.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the purpose of this bill is to establish Arches National Park in the State of Utah, consisting of some 73,154 acres, the greater part of which are now in Federal ownership. Arches National Park is carved out of a larger area consisting of 82,952 acres which is presently being administered as Arches National Monument under Presidential proclamation.

The House amended the Senate bill in several particulars, and I would like to describe briefly the difference between the two bills.

The House deleted 160 acres from the Senate version to perfect the boundary in accordance with recommendations of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

Both bills recognize that abrupt termination of grazing rights within the area of the new park could work undue hardship on individuals who hold these grazing rights. The Senate bill provides that a grazing permit might be extended for 25 years from the date of enactment, or even beyond under certain conditions. The House version of the bill provides that persons holding such grazing privileges now, or their heirs, may hold the permit for the remainder of its term, and one period of renewal thereafter.

The Senate bill allows owners and operators of cattle and sheep herds to continue to trail these herds on traditional courses used by them prior to enactment of the bill. The House bill gives the Secretary of the Interior the right to designate these driveways and to promulgate reasonable regulations providing for the use of such driveways.

The Senate bill directs the Secretary of the Interior to study proposed wilderness areas within Arches National Park and to submit recommendations to Congress. The House bill provides that such a study must be made but requires that a report be submitted to Congress within 3 years.

The Senate bill provides for a study of road alignments within and adjacent to the national park, to be made by the Secretaries of Interior and Transportation, in consultation with the other Federal departments involved, and with the State of Utah. The House bill makes the Secretary of Interior mainly responsible for the study, eliminating the Department of Transportation, and provides that not only the State of Utah but its political subdivisions shall be consulted.

And, finally, the House wrote into the Senate-passed bill a limitation of \$25,000 for future land acquisition costs and \$1,031,000 for development of Arches National Park. This is the amount in each instance, estimated by the National Park Service.

Mr. President, although I preferred some parts of the Senate version of the bill, particularly with respect to the duration of grazing privileges and the trailing of herds in the park, I do not wish to delay any further this legislation which will establish a new national park for Utah. Moreover, I welcome the inclusion of the counties for consultation on roads.

Mr. President, I move that the Senate agree to the amendments of the House to S. 30.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Utah.

The motion was agreed to.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9910) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH).

Mr. CHURCH. My amendment reads as follows:

On page 32, line 11, strike out "\$565,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$452,000,000".

I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. President, this amendment would reduce the authorization for military grant aid from \$565 million to \$452 million, a 20-percent reduction.

In the 1970 fiscal year, Congress appropriated only \$350 million for military grant aid and the same amount was authorized for fiscal 1971. But late last year the administration submitted a supplemental request which doubled the

amount Congress originally authorized—making a total of \$690 million for fiscal 1971. My amendment would authorize \$102 million more than Congress provided in fiscal 1970 and also in fiscal 1971, before the supplemental was added on.

The amounts for military aid to be authorized by this bill is only a fraction of the total military aid proposed to be provided to some 50 countries this year. Actually, the grand total comes to some \$5 billion—my amendment amounts to only one fiftieth of this and that does not include the total—the Defense Department's cash sales of arms or commercial sales.

The generosity with which we dispense arms around the world is illustrated by the fact that in the supplemental last year—in the House bill—the United States gave Lebanon \$5 million which they did not even ask for.

How many Senators in this Chamber now would like to receive \$5 million, without having asked for it, for public works or other projects in their States? But, apparently, military aid to foreign governments is conceived and administered on a different basis.

I believe that the times call for trimming our foreign aid sails—military and economic. This amendment would reduce the authorization for military grant aid by \$113 million.

The House bill, as contrasted with the Senate bill, authorizes \$705 million for military grant aid, so that even if the amendment is adopted, when the difference is split in conference, the reduction will be very modest within a total package of \$5 billion.

It seems to me that so modest a reduction could easily be absorbed, and on that basis, I hope the Senate will adopt this Church amendment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, we dealt with this matter in committee. I voted to cut the item. I am in favor of the Senator's amendment, and if there is someone opposed to it, I would be pleased to give them time if they require it.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am happy to yield. How much time does the Senator wish?

Mr. JAVITS. Five minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN). The Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I understand that this amendment appears—if the author would advise me on what page?

Mr. CHURCH. If the clerk will read the amendment again.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment as follows:

On page 32, line 11, strike out "\$565,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$452,000,000".

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I believe—and I will stand corrected if I am wrong because I have got into this thing suddenly with the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. ARKEN) leaving the

would vote "nay" and the Senator from Washington would vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON) is absent on official business.

The Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Brock), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cook), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND), and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cook) would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT) is paired with the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND). If present and voting, the Senator from Ohio would vote "yea" and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 61, nays 23, as follows:

[No. 304 Leg.]

YEAS—61

Alken	Hatfield	Percy
Allott	Hughes	Proxmire
Baker	Humphrey	Randolph
Bayh	Inouye	Ribicoff
Beall	Javits	Roth
Bennett	Jordan, Idaho	Saxbe
Bentsen	Kennedy	Schweiker
Boggs	Magnuson	Scott
Brooke	Mathias	Smith
Buckley	McGee	Sparkman
Case	McGovern	Spong
Church	McIntyre	Stafford
Cooper	Metcalf	Stevens
Cranston	Miller	Stevenson
Dominick	Mondale	Symington
Eagleton	Moss	Tunney
Fong	Nelson	Weicker
Fulbright	Packwood	Williams
Gravel	Pastore	Young
Griffin	Pearson	
Hart	Pell	

NAYS—23

Allen	Eastland	Hruska
Bible	Ellender	Jordan, N.C.
Burdick	Ervin	Long
Byrd, Va.	Fannin	McClellan
Byrd, W. Va.	Gambrell	Montoya
Cotton	Gurney	Talmadge
Curtis	Hansen	Tower
Dole	Hollings	

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Mansfield, against.

NOT VOTING—15

Anderson	Cook	Mundt
Bellmon	Goldwater	Muskie
Brock	Harris	Stennis
Cannon	Hartke	Taft
Chiles	Jackson	Thurmond

So the bill (S. 2820) was passed, as follows:

S. 2820

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Special Foreign Economic and Humanitarian Assistance Act of 1971".

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. This Act is enacted as an interim measure to carry forward for fiscal year 1972 United States economic and humanitarian assistance programs authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. The Congress intends at the earliest possible date to re-evaluate the United States foreign assistance program and to develop a new program for the future. Accordingly, this Act looks to the phaseout of the current program and to the establishment of a new one which will

command the respect and the support of Congress and the American people.

FOOD-FOR-PEACE PROGRAM

SEC. 3. It is the sense of the Congress that funds to administer the food-for-peace program should not be reduced as the result of any reduction in the authorizations provided to carry out the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

TITLE I—BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 101. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for fiscal year 1972—

(1) \$250,000,000 to carry out the provisions of title I of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to the Development Loan Fund;

(2) \$175,000,000 to carry out the provisions of title II of such chapter 2, relating to technical cooperation and development grants;

(3) \$225,000,000 to carry out the provisions of title VI of such chapter 2, relating to the Alliance for Progress, of which amount, except for \$75,000,000, shall be available only for loans payable as to principal and interest in United States dollars; and

(4) \$45,000,000 for necessary administrative expenses of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of such Act.

(b) Any appropriation made under any clause of subsection (a) of this section shall be considered as an appropriation made under that provision of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 authorizing an appropriation for a prior fiscal year for the same purpose as such clause.

(c) \$200,000,000 of the dollar receipts from loans made under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and from loans made under the Mutual Security Act of 1954 are authorized to be made available for the fiscal year 1972 for use for the purposes of titles I and VI of chapter 2 of such Act. Such receipts shall remain available until expended.

DEVELOPMENT LOAN FUND

SEC. 102. Title I of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to the Development Loan Fund, is amended as follows:

(1) (A) Section 201(d), which relates to general authority, is amended to read as follows:

"(d) (1) Funds made available for this title shall not be loaned or reloaned at rates of interest excessive or unreasonable for the borrower and in no event shall such funds (except funds loaned under section 205 and funds which prior to the date of enactment of the Special Foreign Economic and Humanitarian Assistance Act of 1971 were committed to be loaned upon terms which do not meet the minimum terms set forth herein) be loaned at a rate of interest of less than the rate which the Secretary of the Treasury determines to be equal to the current available interest rate, as of the last day of the month preceding the making of such loan, that the United States paid on its outstanding marketable obligations of comparable maturities.

"(2) The foregoing subsection (d) shall not be applicable to loans relative to the Alliance for Progress."

(B) Section 106(a) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 is amended by striking out "but not less than the minimum rate required by section 201 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for loans made under that section" and inserting in lieu thereof "but at a rate of interest of not less than 3 per centum per annum commencing not later than ten years following the date of last delivery of com-

modities in each calendar year under the agreement, during which ten-year period the rate of interest shall not be lower than 2 per centum per annum".

(2) In section 202(a), relating to authorization—

(A) beginning with the word "That", immediately after "Provided.", strike out through "Provided further,";

(B) strike out "for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971" and insert in lieu thereof "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972,"; and

(C) before the period at the end thereof, insert a colon and the following: "Provided further, That none of the funds made available under this title shall be used by South Korea in connection with the construction and operation of commercial fishing vessels, fish processing, or the marketing of fish products".

(3) (A) Section 209, relating to multilateral and regional programs, is amended—

(i) by striking out subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(a) The Congress recognizes that the planning and administration of development assistance by, or under the sponsorship of the United Nations, multilateral lending institutions, and other multilateral organizations contribute to the efficiency and effectiveness of that assistance through participation of other donors in the development effort, improved coordination of policies and programs, pooling of knowledge, avoidance of duplication of facilities and manpower, and greater encouragement of self-help performance. It is the sense of Congress that an increasing proportion of United States assistance to the developing countries should be channeled through multilateral organizations and that the United States Government should undertake such measures as may be necessary to help increase the competency and capacity of such organizations."; and

(ii) by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President shall reduce the amounts and numbers of loans made by the United States directly to individual foreign countries with the objective of phasing out the bilateral loan program by not later than June 30, 1975.

"(d) In furtherance of the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, any funds appropriated under this part I may be transferred by the President to the International Development Association, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the Asian Development Bank or other multilateral lending institutions and multilateral organizations in which the United States participates for the purpose of providing funds to enable any such institution or organization to make loans to foreign countries. Any such transfer shall be made—

"(1) only if the institution or organization agrees that, in making loans out of funds so transferred, it will emphasize and take into account those matters emphasized and taken into account by the President under sections 201(b) and (f), 207, and 208 of this Act;

"(2) without regard to any other provision of this title; and

"(3) upon such other terms and conditions as the President may determine."

(B) Subsection (b) of such section 209 is amended by striking out "REGIONAL PROGRAM.—"

(C) Section 205 of such Act is repealed.

(D) Effective July 1, 1975, section 619 of such Act is amended by inserting after "this Act" the following "(other than title I of chapter 2 of such part)".

HOUSING GUARANTEES

SEC. 103. Title III of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relat-

for technical assistance in the development of low cost and cooperative housing in developing countries.

A typical pattern of an ICHDA program can be seen in its work in east Africa. It assisted the Government of Tanzania in a self-help housing project for 500 low-income families. Participants received a lot with utilities and a small "core" house designed to expand as their incomes increase. This was done under the auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. To assist the Government of Tanzania implement this self-help, cooperative program, ICHDA sought, encouraged, and arranged for inputs of technical assistance from the United Nations Development Programme, training inputs from the West German Government through ICHDA's German member organization, and additional technicians from the international development agencies of Norway and Canada. ICHDA is now involved in seeking capital assistance from its member organizations and their governments for project expansion.

ICHDA has underway a similar pilot program for West Africa and is negotiating for assistance to India involving several of the national member organizations of ICHDA.

In this way, AID inputs have been small in comparison to the results achieved. A full-fledged self-help housing program has been initiated and carried out with the cooperation and coordination of the governments and private sector organizations from four countries and the United Nations.

COOPERATIVE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

Since early 1961, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association has been actively engaged in the worthwhile endeavor of promoting cooperative rural electrification in the developing nations of the world. NRECA's activity in this area is carried on under the provisions of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, which established the Agency for International Development and included the amendment I sponsored which declared it to be the policy of the United States "to encourage the development of cooperatives, credit unions and savings and loan associations."

Since the members of rural electric cooperatives and their national association, NRECA, know from firsthand experience the many economic and social benefits which accrue to a rural area once it is electrified, they were quick to accept the challenge of helping the rural people of other nations obtain the benefits that come with an abundant supply of electric power. In 1961 and in succeeding years, Clyde T. Ellis, the general manager of NRECA—and now general manager emeritus—visited many of the emerging nations of the world to consult with local governmental leaders and U.S. AID officials in the interest of encouraging the consideration of cooperative rural electrification as part of the AID program in each country.

Many countries did respond to this opportunity to get started with rural electrification, using the REA experience of

the United States. This type of rural electrification is unique to the United States and serves as a shining example of the way to get rural people involved with a self-help community development program.

To date, NRECA has sent 111 rural electrification specialists representing 70 of the rural electric systems in the United States of 29 foreign countries to appraise the potential for rural electrification and help rural leaders plan the development of rural electrification when the time is right. These men have been unanimous in the endorsement of rural electrification as a major tool in developing the rural areas of these countries. Similarly, the 1,000 rural electric cooperatives in the United States have endorsed cooperative rural electrification for inclusion of the U.S. foreign AID program at each of NRECA's annual meetings since 1962.

Though only a small fraction of AID funds have gone into rural electrification projects, some considerable degree of success has already been achieved in "Exporting the REA Pattern" through the aid program. Loans have been made to 39 cooperatives in the amount of \$34,600,000, and the countries and their people have put another \$20,000,000 into these projects. Including grant-funded projects in Vietnam and northeast Brazil, 51 cooperatives have now been started with AID financing and NRECA technical assistance. These projects now serve some 130,000 families and will in the future serve more than 250,000 families, or some 2,000,000 people. More importantly, the success of these projects is encouraging these nations and others to undertake national programs of rural electrification—not just funds from the United States, but with their own revenues and funds from other sources.

However, only a start has been made in rural electrification. Much more needs to be done. In the rural areas of the developing countries, less than 1 percent of the farmers have electric service even in the more advanced countries like Brazil and Colombia. In these developing countries, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the population is dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood. A major portion of their gross national product and exports comes from the land.

Yet, in most of these countries, this important rural sector, the agriculture sector, has been neglected. In most of the countries, nearly all of the electric power investment has gone into city electrification and powerplants to supply these cities. Too little has been done to electrify the rural areas.

Most of these countries agree that the real strength of the nation resides in their rural people, and they recognize that more must be done to improve the quality of life in rural areas. The rural people recognize, as do many planners, that rural electrification is an absolute necessity to bring them into the 20th century. It is vital if they are to keep their children at home and stop the trek to the cities.

A cooperative rural electrification is a tangible and identifiable foreign aid project. Here is a kind of project that the local people know and recognize as U.S.

assistance. They can see and feel its benefits. They know it is America's way of helping them help themselves.

I am sure my distinguished colleagues agree that the Senate and the Congress should insist that the future aid program financed by the United States should include substantial increases in funding self-help cooperatives, including rural electrification cooperatives.

IMPACT OF RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES

Here is what one electric co-op manager in Costa Rica reports on the impact of cooperative rural electrification on the lives of the 3,000 families served:

The industry is improve day by day, beside the small factories which already began the production on goods, concrete block, wood products, milk and its derivations . . . another large firm initiated the studies for a huge textile plant which start the operation five months after we energize the system . . . and employ more than two hundred people. We may enumerate a lot of our achievement and progress in the economics and social feels.

Gentlemen, we might correct his English, but we can hardly improve on his observation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is, Shall the bill pass? On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the negative). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE). If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may we have order at this point. I would like to hear my name if the clerk calls it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES) would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE) is paired with the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON). If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana

ing to housing guaranties, is amended as follows:

- (1) In section 221, relating to worldwide housing guaranties, strike out "\$130,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$180,000,000".
- (2) In section 223(1) relating to general provisions, strikes out "June 30, 1972" and insert in lieu thereof "June 30, 1973".

OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATIONS

Sec. 104. Title IV of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, is amended as follows:

- (1) In the first proviso of section 238(c), relating to definitions, strike out "required by law to be".

- (2) At the end of section 239, relating to general provisions and powers, add the following new subsection:

"(g) Except for the provisions of this title, no other provision of this or any other law shall be construed to prohibit the operation in a particular country of the programs authorized by this title, if the President determines that the operation of such program in a particular country is important to the national interest."

- (3) Section 240(h) relating to agricultural credit and self-help community development projects, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1972" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1973".

PROGRAMS RELATING TO POPULATION GROWTH

Sec. 105. Section 292 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to authorization is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 292. AUTHORIZATION.—Of the funds provided to carry out the provisions of this part I for the fiscal year 1972, \$125,000,000 shall be available only to carry out the purposes of this title, and, notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, funds used for such purposes may be used on a loan or grant basis."

PROHIBITIONS AGAINST FURNISHING ASSISTANCE

Sec. 106. Section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to prohibitions against furnishing assistance, is amended—

- (1) by striking out of the first full paragraph of subsection (e) (1) all that matter following immediately below clause (C) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "and such suspension shall continue until the President is satisfied that such country, government agency, or government subdivision has (1) discharged its obligations under international law toward such citizen or entity, including speedy compensation for such property in convertible foreign exchange, equivalent to the full value thereof, as required by international law, or (1) has provided relief from such taxes, exactions, or conditions, as the case may be. No other provision of this Act shall be construed to authorize the President to waive the provisions of this subsection."; and

- (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(v) None of the funds appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act shall be made available to any foreign country which the President determines has failed to support actively the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

"(w) (1) All military, economic, or other assistance, all sales of defense articles and services (whether for cash or by credit, guaranty, or any other means), all sales of agricultural commodities (whether for cash, credit, or by other means), and all licenses with respect to the transportation of arms, ammunitions, and implements of war (including technical data relating thereto) to the Government of Pakistan under this or any other law shall be suspended on the date of enactment of this subsection.

"(2) The provisions of this subsection shall cease to apply when the President re-

ports to the Congress that the Government of Pakistan is cooperating fully in allowing the situation in East Pakistan to return to reasonable stability and that refugees from East Pakistan in India have been allowed, to the extent feasible, to return to their homes and to reclaim their lands and properties.

- (3) Nothing in this subsection shall apply to the provision of food and other humanitarian assistance which is coordinated, distributed, or monitored under international auspices."

ANNUAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REPORT

Sec. 107. (a) Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to miscellaneous provisions, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 653. ANNUAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REPORT.—(a) In order that the Congress and the American people may be better and more currently informed regarding the volume and cost of assistance extended by the United States Government to foreign countries and international organizations, and in order that the Congress and the American people may be better informed regarding the sale of arms to foreign countries and international organizations by private industry of the United States, not later than December 31 of each year the President shall transmit to the Congress an annual report, for the fiscal year ending prior to the fiscal year in which the report is transmitted, showing—

- (1) the aggregate dollar value of all foreign assistance provided by the United States Government by any means to all foreign countries and international organizations, and the aggregate dollar value of such assistance by category provided by the United States Government to each such country and organization, during that fiscal year;

"(2) the total amounts of foreign currency paid by each foreign country or international organization to the United States Government in such fiscal year, what each payment was made for, whether any portion of such payment was returned by the United States Government to the country or organization from which the payment was obtained or whether any such portion was transferred by the United States Government to another foreign country or international organization, and, if so returned or transferred, the kind of assistance obtained by that country or organization with those foreign currencies and the dollar value of such kind of assistance;

"(3) the aggregate dollar value of all arms, ammunitions, and other implements of war, and the aggregate dollar value of each category of such arms, ammunitions, and implements of war, exported under any export license, to all foreign countries and international organizations, and to each such country and organization, during that fiscal year; and

"(4) such other matters relating to foreign assistance provided by the United States Government as the President considers appropriate, including explanations of the information required under clauses (1)–(3) of this subsection.

"(b) All information contained in any report transmitted under this section shall be public information. However, in the case of any item of information to be included in any such report that the President, on an extraordinary basis, determines is clearly detrimental to the security of the United States, he shall explain in a supplemental report why publication of each specific item would be detrimental to the security of the United States. A supplement to any report shall be transmitted to the Congress at the same time that the report is transmitted.

"(c) If the Congress is not in session at the time a report or supplement is transmitted to the Congress, the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Rep-

resentatives shall accept the report or supplement on behalf of their respective Houses of Congress and present the report or supplement to the two Houses immediately upon their convening.

"(d) For purposes of this section—

"(1) 'foreign assistance' means any tangible or intangible item provided by the United States Government under this or any other law to a foreign country or international organization, including, but not limited to, any training, service, or technical advice, any item of real, personal, or mixed property, any agricultural commodity, United States dollars, and any currencies owned by the United States Government of any foreign country;

"(2) 'provided by the United States Government' includes, but is not limited to, foreign assistance provided by means of gift, loan, sale, credit sale, or guaranty; and

"(3) 'value' means value at the time of transfer except that in no case shall any commodity or article of equipment or material be considered to have a value less than one-third of the amount the United States Government paid at the time the commodity or article was acquired by the United States Government."

(b) Section 644(m) of such Act is amended by striking out—

"(m) 'Value' means—"

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(m) 'Value' means, other than in section 653 of this Act—"

(c) Subsection (a) of section 634 of such Act is repealed.

(d) The provisions of this section shall apply with respect to any fiscal year commencing on or after July 1, 1971.

LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS

Sec. 108. Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to miscellaneous provisions, is further amended by adding after section 653, as added by section 107(a) of this Act, the following new section:

"SEC. 654. LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.—(a) Except as otherwise provided in this section, none of the funds appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act or the Foreign Military Sales Act shall be obligated or expended until the Comptroller General of the United States certifies to the Congress that all funds previously appropriated and thereafter impounded during the fiscal year 1971 for highway construction, low-rent public housing, Model Cities, water and sewer grants, urban renewal, regional economic development, farm credit, and mass transportation have been released for obligation and expenditure.

"(b) The provisions of this section shall not apply—

"(1) to funds being withheld in accordance with specific requirements of law; and

"(2) to appropriations obligated or expended prior to January 1, 1972."

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Sec. 109. The first section of the Act of June 28, 1935, entitled "An Act to authorize participation by the United States in the Interparliamentary Union" (22 U.S.C. 276), is amended as follows:

(1) Strike out "\$53,550" and insert in lieu thereof "\$102,000".

(2) Strike out "\$26,650" and insert in lieu thereof "\$57,000".

(3) Strike out "\$26,900" and insert in lieu thereof "\$45,000".

INTER-AMERICAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Sec. 110. Part IV of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 is amended as follows:

(1) Strike out the title of such part and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"PART IV—THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION ACT"

(2) The caption of section 401 and subsection (a) of such section of that part are

amended to read as follows: "INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION.—(a) There is created as an agency of the United States of America a body corporate to be known as the Inter-American Foundation (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Foundation')."

(3) Section 401 of such part is amended by striking out "Institute" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "Foundation".

(4) Section 401(e)(4) of such part is amended to read as follows:

"(4) shall determine and prescribe the manner in which its obligations shall be incurred and its expenses, including expenses for representation (not to exceed \$10,000 in any fiscal year), allowed and paid;"

(5) Section 401(l) is amended to read as follows:

"(1)(1) The chief executive officer of the Foundation shall be a President who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors on such terms as the Board may determine. The President shall receive compensation at the rate provided for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) Expert and consultants, or organizations thereof, may be employed as authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code."

ANNUAL AUTHORIZATIONS FOR STATE DEPARTMENT AND USIA

SEC. 111. (a) It is the purpose of this section to enable the Congress generally, and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives in particular, to carry out the purposes and intent of the Legislative Reorganization Acts of 1946 and 1970, with respect to—

(1) the analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws relating to the Department of State and the United States Information Agency and of matters relating to the foreign relations of the United States; and

(2) providing annual authorization of appropriations for that Department and Agency.

(b) Section 15 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide certain basic authority for the Department of State", approved August 1, 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2680), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 15. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no appropriation shall be made to the Department of State under any law for any fiscal year commencing on or after July 1, 1972, unless previously authorized by legislation hereafter enacted by the Congress.

"(b) The Department of State shall keep the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives fully and currently informed with respect to all activities and responsibilities within the jurisdiction of these committees of all departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the United States Government conducted outside the United States or its territories or possessions. Any such department, agency, or independent establishment shall furnish any information within the jurisdiction of these committees requested by either such committee relating to any such activity or responsibility."

(c) The last sentence of section 13 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2684) is repealed.

(d) Section 701 of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (22 U.S.C. 1476) is amended to read as follows:

"PRIOR AUTHORIZATIONS BY CONGRESS

"Sec. 701. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no appropriation shall be made to the Secretary of State, or to any Government agency authorized to administer the

provisions of this Act, under any law for any fiscal year commencing on or after July 1, 1972, unless previously authorized by legislation hereafter enacted by the Congress."

USE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES

SEC. 112. (a) Section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Notwithstanding section 1415 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1953, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States, which are in excess of the amounts reserved under section 612(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and which are determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States, shall be made available to appropriate committees of the Congress engaged in carrying out their duties under section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Joint Economic Committee and the Select Committees on Small Business of the Senate and House of Representatives for their local currency expenses. Any such excess local currencies shall not be made available (1) to defray subsistence expenses or fees of witnesses appearing before any such committee in the United States, or (2) in amounts greater than the equivalent of \$100 a day for each person, exclusive of the actual cost of transportation."

(b) The amendment made by this section is effective March 1, 1972.

TITLE II—HUMANITARIAN AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 201. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for fiscal year 1972, to carry out the provisions of chapter 3 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961—

(1) \$90,065,000 for the United Nations Development Fund;

(2) \$15,000,000 for the United Nations Children's Fund;

(3) \$7,500,000 for the United Nations population program;

(4) \$2,000,000 for the United Nations fund for drug abuse control;

(5) \$1,550,000 for the operational program of the International Atomic Energy Agency;

(6) \$1,500,000 for the voluntary assistance program of the World Meteorological Organization;

(7) \$1,500,000 for the world food program of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations;

(8) \$400,000 for the United Nations Institute for Training and Research;

(9) \$312,000 for medical research conducted under the World Health Organization;

(10) \$73,000 for the International Secretariat for Voluntary Service;

(11) \$13,300,000 for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency;

(12) \$1,000,000 for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to provide expanded technical and vocational training of Arab refugees; and

(13) \$4,800,000 for the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for fiscal year 1972—

(1) \$16,000,000 to carry out the provisions of section 214 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to American schools and hospitals abroad;

(2) \$15,000,000 to carry out the provisions of section 302(b)(2) of such Act, relating to Indus Basin development; and

(3) \$30,000,000 to carry out the provisions of chapter 5 of part I of such Act, relating to the contingency fund.

(c) There is authorized to be appropriated to the President for the fiscal year 1972, in

addition to funds otherwise available for such purpose, not to exceed \$250,000,000, to remain available until expended, for use by the President in providing assistance for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan and for humanitarian relief in East Pakistan. Such assistance shall be distributed, to the maximum extent practicable, under the auspices of and by international institutions and relief agencies or United States voluntary agencies. Funds appropriated under this subsection shall be transferred to and consolidated with the funds appropriated under the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, but shall not be subject to the limitation set forth in section 2(c) of that Act.

(d) Any appropriation made under any clause of subsection (a) or (b) of this section shall be considered as an appropriation made under that provision of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 authorizing an appropriation for a prior year for the same purpose as such clause.

REOPENING OF SUEZ CANAL

SEC. 202. Title II of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to technical cooperation and development grants, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 220A. SUEZ CANAL.—The President is authorized to furnish financial assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for assistance in the reopening of the Suez Canal after agreement has been reached by the parties involved, which agreement provides for the use of the Canal by the ships of all nations, including Israel, on a nondiscriminatory basis. For the purpose of carrying out this section, there are authorized to be appropriated not to exceed \$10,000,000 in Egyptian pounds now owned by the United States and determined by the President to be excess to the normal requirements of departments and agencies of the United States. Amounts appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended."

INTERNATIONAL DRUG CONTROL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 203. (a) Chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to development assistance, is amended by inserting after title III the following new title:

"TITLE IIIA—INTERNATIONAL DRUG CONTROL ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 225. AUTHORITY.—(a) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the President is authorized to furnish assistance to any foreign country, on such terms and conditions he determines necessary, in order to encourage and enable that country to control or eliminate the production, processing, or distribution of drugs within or across its boundaries.

"(b) The President is authorized to furnish assistance to any international organization, such as the United Nations fund for drug abuse control, involved in efforts to control or eliminate the production, processing, or distribution of drugs.

"(c) Of the funds provided to carry out the provisions of this Act, not less than \$25,000,000 shall be available each fiscal year only to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(d) For purposes of this section, 'drug' means any matter which is included within the definition of controlled substance under title II of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970."

(b) Section 620 of such Act, relating to prohibitions against furnishing assistance, is further amended by adding after subsection (w) as added by section 106 of this Act, the following new subsection:

"(x) (1) The President shall determine annually, before furnishing any military, economic, and other assistance to a foreign country under this or any other law, whether such country has undertaken appropriate measures to prevent drugs, partially or com-

pletely processed or produced in or transported through such country, from unlawfully entering the United States or from being unlawfully supplied to citizens of the United States.

"(2) Except as otherwise provided under paragraph (3) of this subsection, if the President determines that a foreign country has not undertaken appropriate measures to prevent any such drugs from unlawfully entering the United States or being unlawfully supplied to United States citizens, he shall immediately cease to furnish all military, economic, and other assistance to such country authorized under this or any other law. The President is urged also to seek, through the United Nations or any other international organization, the imposition of international economic sanctions against such country.

"(3) If the President finds that a foreign country referred to under paragraph (2) of this subsection has undertaken, after his determination, appropriate measures to prevent such drugs from unlawfully entering the United States or being unlawfully supplied to United States citizens or finds that the overriding national interest requires that military, economic, or other assistance be furnished to such country, the provisions of such paragraph shall not apply to that country unless the provisions of such paragraph would apply further to that country as a result of a further determination.

"(4) The President shall utilize such agencies and facilities of the United States Government as he may deem appropriate to assist foreign countries in their efforts to prevent the unlawful entry of drugs into the United States or from being unlawfully supplied to United States citizens.

"(5) No provisions of this or any other law shall be construed to authorize the President to waive the provisions of this subsection.

"(6) The President shall, within ninety days after the determinations made by him pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, report to the Congress such determinations, together with a full explanation of the reasons therefor. The President shall also report to the Congress any action taken pursuant to paragraph (3) of this subsection.

"(7) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) 'drug' means any matter which is included within the definition of controlled substance under title II of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970; and

"(B) 'military, economic, and other assistance' means any tangible or intangible item provided by the United States Government (by means of gift, loan, sale, credit sale, guaranty, or any other means) under this or any other law to a foreign country, including, but not limited to, any training, service, or technical advice, any item of real, personal, or mixed property, any agricultural commodity, United States dollars, and any currencies owned by the United States Government of any foreign country."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS
SEC. 204. Section 302 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to authorization, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (b) (2) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The President shall not exercise any special authority granted to him under section 610(a) or 614(a) of this Act to transfer any amount appropriated under this paragraph to, and to consolidate such amount with, any funds made available under any other provision of this Act."

(2) At the end of such section 302, add the following new subsection:

"(f) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the fiscal year 1972, in addition to other amounts available for such purposes, \$1,000,000 in Egyptian pounds owned by the United States and

determined by the President to be excess to the requirements of departments and agencies of the United States, for the purpose of providing technical and vocational training and other assistance to Arab refugees. Amounts appropriated under this subsection are authorized to remain available until expended."

UNITED NATIONS

SEC. 205. (a) The Congress strongly urges the President to undertake such negotiations as may be necessary to implement that portion of the recommendations of the Report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (known as the "Lodge Commission") which proposes that the portion of the regular assessed costs to be paid by the United States to the United Nations be reduced so that the United States is assessed in each year not more than 25 per centum of such costs assessed all members of the United Nations for that year.

(b) Section 8 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 is amended—

(1) by inserting immediately after "SEC. 8." the subsection designation "(a)";

(2) by striking out "for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the United Nations as apportioned by the General Assembly in accordance with article 17 of the Charter, and"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no appropriation shall be made for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the United Nations, as apportioned by the General Assembly in accordance with article 17 of the Charter, or for the payment of any amount to any organization, program, fund, or activity of the United Nations, unless such payment has been previously authorized by legislation hereafter enacted by the Congress. Any such authorization shall not be given for a period exceeding one fiscal year."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR FULBRIGHT AND OTHER SENATORS ON PASSAGE OF ECONOMIC FOREIGN AID

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, at this time I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. His leadership in reviving and resurrecting the economic aspects of the foreign aid program has been truly outstanding.

Though I personally have grave reservations that this program deserves to be continued in its present form, I believe the Senate owes Senator FULBRIGHT and the others so instrumental in this action a deep debt of gratitude.

The distinguished senior Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN) joined to assure this success. His devotion and dedication, as always, were essential to the overwhelming approval of this measure by the Senate.

His participation in providing an interim economic aid program was indispensable. Other Senators are to be similarly commended for their contributions.

Most notable was the contribution of the distinguished Senator from New

York (Mr. JAVITS). His views are always most thoughtful and most welcome. The same may be said for the contribution of the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT) and his able colleague (Mr. DOMINICK).

To the Senate as a whole the leadership is most grateful for joining to make possible the final passage of this measure expeditiously and with full consideration for the views of each Member.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MAGNUSON AND OTHERS ON PASSAGE OF CONSUMER WARRANTY BILL LAST MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the passage of S. 986, the consumer warranty measure, last Monday, the Senate once again witnessed the exercise of legislative skill of the most effective and outstanding character. The chairman of the Commerce Committee, the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) proved once again that there is no substitute for strong advocacy coupled with consideration for any and all opinions. The expeditious way in which the Senate disposed of the matter can be attributed largely to WARREN MAGNUSON and to his vast knowledge and experience as chairman of the Commerce Committee, and to his great expertise. Naming this proposed law after WARREN MAGNUSON as was the effect of the Cotton amendment is a great tribute fitting this great Senator.

The distinguished Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. COTTON) is to be commended as well for the invaluable assistance which he rendered in steering this bill through committee and to the Senate floor. Through his willing and able contributions this measure became a truly bipartisan effort—one for which the entire Senate can be proud.

Most especially do I wish to give our sincere thanks to the very able Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS) who as chairman of the Consumer Subcommittee of the Commerce Committee has worked diligently and unstintingly to assure a thorough and impartial debate and review of all aspects of the consumer warranty bill. Senator MOSS has been untiring in his work on behalf of the American public and all of us will be indebted to him for some time to come for the manner in which he willingly gives of himself to insure a better quality of life for the Nation as a whole. His sincerity of purpose is an inspiration to those who know him.

To be commended also are the members of the Consumer Subcommittee who shepherded this measure from its inception through to final passage by the Senate. The very distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK) as ranking minority member of that subcommittee contributed greatly to our understanding of the ramifications of this bill and we are most grateful to him. My able and distinguished colleague from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE) once again contributed to our enlightenment through informative and skillful debate. Others are also to be recognized for their contributions, either in the form of amendments offered or comments made, and I would just like to

thank the Senator from Virginia (Mr. SPONG), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from California (Mr. TUNNEY), and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN) for their contributions to the overall high quality of discussion and deliberation.

It is almost impossible, Mr. President, to enumerate all who helped to move this all-important measure through the Senate. I am truly grateful to the entire Senate for its thoughtful and expeditious action on last Monday.

SPECIAL FOREIGN MILITARY AND RELATED ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, again, that H.R. 10947, an act to provide a job development investment credit, to reduce individual income taxes, to reduce certain excise taxes, and for other purposes, be laid aside temporarily and that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar 424, S. 2819; that it be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The second assistant legislative clerk read the bill by title, as follows: A bill (S. 2819) to provide foreign military and related assistance authorizations for fiscal year 1972, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to its consideration.

What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes on the bill.

INFORMATION ON LAOS AND CAMBODIA

Mr. President, in the course of the debate on foreign aid on November 9, I mentioned repeatedly the difficulty the committee has had in obtaining information from the executive branch. Let me cite one case, a case I cited before during the debate on the provision in the defense procurement authorization bill setting an expenditure limitation of \$350 million for this fiscal year in Laos.

I mentioned during that debate, on October 4 to be exact, that on January 27 of this year I had written the Secretary of Defense asking for certain information for Laos and Cambodia similar to the information that has been regularly supplied to the committee for some years with regard to Vietnam. Mr. G. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, replied on April 14 and said that he could not comply with my request because—

It would not be at all appropriate to discuss or disclose outside the executive branch highly sensitive information on military combat operations of the kind which your questions would elicit if answers were to be provided.

I wrote Mr. Nutter again on April 20 and asked him to provide the committee with a list of the items which he considered to be "highly sensitive information on military combat operations." He replied on May 5 and used another argument which was that because there were no U.S. military advisory personnel in Laos and Cambodia the Defense Depart-

ment did not have the information requested.

On August 9 I wrote Mr. Nutter again and pointed out that two members of the staff of the Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad had visited Laos and had obtained virtually all of the information requested in my original letter of January 27. Furthermore, with the agreement of the Department of State, Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency, a declassified version of that report had been published. I concluded that it did not seem to me any longer credible to claim that the information requested on Laos was not available or that, if it were, it could not be discussed or disclosed outside the executive branch. I then renewed my request for the information I had requested on January 27.

That letter, as I have said, was dated August 9. It is now more than 3 months later and, despite numerous inquiries by the committee staff to the Defense Department, I have still not received any reply whatsoever to my letter.

I ask unanimous consent that the full exchange of correspondence be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
January 27, 1971.

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As you know, at the request of the Committee on Foreign Relations the Department of Defense has, for sometime, been supplying it with monthly statistical data relating to the situation in Vietnam. This information has proved to be extremely valuable in following developments there.

The Committee is finding it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of the rapid developments in Cambodia, Laos, and North Vietnam, and I believe that a monthly report containing data relating to those countries would be helpful. The Committee would, therefore, appreciate the Department's cooperation in supplying, on a monthly basis, the information requested on the enclosed list.

I, of course, have no objection to your making this information available to other interested congressional committees, as was done in the case of the Vietnam reports.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman.

MONTHLY DATA ON MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA Cambodia

1. Size of Cambodian Armed Forces:
 - (a) Trained and Combat Ready;
 - (b) In training (specific location if outside Cambodia) or other;
 - (c) On duty outside Cambodia (other than training).
2. Number of friendly foreign troops in Cambodia:
 - (a) South Vietnamese;
 - (b) Other (specify).
3. Number of enemy troops in Cambodia:
 - (a) North Vietnamese/Viet Cong;
 - (b) Cambodian Communist;
 - (c) Engaged in combat operations:
 1. against Cambodian forces;
 2. against South Vietnam forces.
 4. Combat air operations in Cambodia:

- (a) Sorties flown by:
 1. U.S. planes;
 2. Sorties flown by Cambodian planes;
 3. Sorties flown by South Vietnamese planes;
4. Sorties flown by Thais or other forces;

- (b) Ordnance expended (bomb tonnage and other) by U.S. aircraft in Cambodia:
 1. B-52.
 2. other fixed wing aircraft;
 3. helicopter gunships, etc.

5. Casualties (military):
 - (a) Enemy killed, wounded and captured;
 - (b) Cambodian killed, wounded and missing;

- (c) South Vietnamese killed, wounded and missing;
- (d) U.S. casualties or missing as a result of air or other operations.

6. Transport and Supply Operations:
 - (a) Number of flights flown by U.S. military transport aircraft to Cambodian airports;

- (b) Number of U.S. helicopter transport flights flown in Cambodia;
- (c) Number of air drop missions flown by U.S. aircraft in Cambodia;

- (d) Number of transport flights by U.S. non-military aircraft (Air America, etc.);
- (e) Number of transport flights by South Vietnamese or other aircraft;

- (f) Number of supply missions by South Vietnamese naval vessels;
- (g) Please provide copies of any contracts or agreements with foreign government or private entities relating to supply or transport operations in Cambodia, including data on amounts paid or reimbursed for such services and the sources of the funding.

7. Payments made by the United States to South Vietnam or other countries for operations in or services rendered in behalf of Cambodia:
 - (a) Amounts or any such payments and the purpose;

- (b) Provide copies of any agreements entered into by the United States concerning payments to foreigners for services rendered in or in behalf of Cambodia and the source of the funding.

8. Number of U.S. personnel involved:
 - (a) Number of U.S. personnel attached permanently or temporarily to the U.S. Embassy in Cambodia—civilian, military;

- (b) Number of visits in Cambodia by U.S. personnel in a TAD or other temporary status and total number of days of such duty by all personnel during the month;

- (c) Number of U.S. personnel in South Vietnam, Thailand, or Laos whose duties relate to operations in Cambodia, including training and logistics operations.

9. U.S. Naval operations:
 - (a) Number and type of U.S. ships operating in or near Cambodian waters during the month engaged in operations relating to Cambodia;

- (b) Number of visits to Cambodian ports by U.S. naval vessels engaged in supply or transport operations.

10. Estimated number of U.S. prisoners held in Cambodia:
 - Laos

1. Number of United States personnel in Laos:
 - (a) Civilian (government employees);
 - (b) Military;
 - (c) Personnel on temporary duty, civilian and military (total number of man-days);
 - (d) Contractor employees (Air America, etc.).

2. Number of friendly military forces:
 - (a) Regular Laotian Armed Forces;
 - (b) Irregular Forces;
 - (c) Thai Forces in Laos;
 - (d) Other Forces in Laos (Cambodian, South Vietnamese, etc.).

3. Enemy forces in Laos:
 - (a) Pathet Lao;
 - (b) North Vietnamese;
 - (c) Viet Cong.

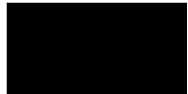
Copies to:

Houston



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